There are those who think
My eyes are rather small
Or my jaw too narrow;
As for me
I wouldn't know
This, nor what is lacking.

Of what use my face and eye —
These eighty years are
From ancestral worth!
Yet is death now
Only a wall away.

PORTRAIT OF SHEN CHOU (DETAIL). A COPY BY YU-CH'I, 幼溪 UNIDENTIFIED.
Hua Shu-ho Collection, Taipei.

Original Shen Chou poem was written above painting by Wen Chia in 1622.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
FREER GALLERY OF ART
ORIENTAL STUDIES NO. 5

THE FIELD OF STONES
A STUDY OF THE ART OF SHEN CHOU (1427-1509)
(WITH 51 PLATES)

BY
RICHARD EDWARDS
113

(PUBLICATION 4433)

WASHINGTON
1962

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TO EDITH

To get what you want in Ch'i is like
capturing a field of stones.

It is of no use.

Tso CHUAN,
*Eleventh year
of Prince Ai.*

FOREWORD

The Field of Stones is a first-rate piece of research concerning the famous artist Shen Chou, who was born in 1427 and died in 1509. We are indeed indebted to Dr. Edwards for this work. Dr. Edwards has recently taken the professorship of Far Eastern Art in the Department of the History of Art at the University of Michigan.

A. G. WENLEY,
Director, Freer Gallery of Art.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
June 15, 1960.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although the author has received encouragement and help from many sources—dealers, museums, and friends—he would like to express his special appreciation to several: Mr. Laurence Sickman, who has a special interest in and enthusiasm for Shen Chou; Professor Benjamin Rowland, Jr., who, as teacher and friend, has provided all the groundwork without which such a special study could never have been undertaken; Mr. Tseng Hsien-ch'i, who helped suggest the subject and whose careful eye and wide knowledge of Chinese painting have often been drawn upon; Dr. James F. Cahill for his constant checking on Shen Chou matters during his recent travels to the Orient, and later at the Freer Gallery of Art; Mrs. Elaine Evans Gerdtz and Mr. Usher P. Coolidge, who, as Assistant Curators of Oriental Art at the Fogg Art Museum, gave immeasurable assistance at countless odd moments; Dr. Osvald Sirén for the prepublication consultation of his "Lists" of Chinese paintings; Mr. A. K'ai-ming Ch'iu of Harvard-Yenching Library and Mr. K. T. Wu of the Library of Congress for invaluable biographical assistance; Mr. Sherman E. Lee and Mr. Richard B. Hobart, who have supplied me with published material not otherwise available to me.

The author is particularly grateful to many Chinese friends, either for their help in the study of original paintings or for assistance in translation of difficult passages of Chinese: Professor Yang Lien-sheng of Harvard, Mr. H. C. Weng of New York, Professor Nelson Wu of Yale University, and Mr. C. C. Wang of New York.

Much of the illustrative material used here has come from oriental publications long out of print, and in many cases the present whereabouts of these paintings is not now surely known. I am indebted to Mr. Burns A. Stubbs and Mr. Raymond A. Schwartz of the Freer Gallery of Art for their skill and care in the preparation of most of these photographs. Particular indebtedness, too, is acknowledged for permission to reproduce the following plates: The Boston Museum of Fine Arts: 13, A, 14, A, 25, B, 26, A, 32, A, 40, A. Mr. Frank Caro: 10, A. Mr. J. D. Chen: 1, B. The Art Institute of Chicago: 7, C. The Detroit Institute of Arts: 46, A. Mr. J. P. Dubosc: 9, C, 10, B. The Freer Gallery of Art: 1, A, 1, C, 2, A, 3, 5, A, 6, B, 15, 16, 31, 32, B, C, D, 33, A. Mr. Han Lih-wu, former Director, Joint Administration of National Palace and National Central Museums, Tai-chung: 2, B, 7, B, 8, A, 9, A, 10, C, 24, 28, 33, B, 49, 50, C. The Honolulu Academy of Arts: 46, B. Mr. Gengi Kadogawa: 29, 30. The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City: 14, B, 17, A, 18, 19, A, 23, A, 25, A, 34, A, 44, A. Mr. Eli Lilly and the John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis: 20, C. The Ōsaka Municipal Museum: 6, A, 6, C, 47, B. Mr. M. A. Piacentini: 35. The Portland Art Museum: 26, B. Professor George Rowley: photographs for 48. The National Museum, Stockholm: 27, A, 40, B, 50, A. Mr. C. C. Wang: 5, B. Mr. H. C. Weng: 27, B, 36, 45, B.

The author has received invaluable editorial assistance from Miss Ruth B. MacManus of the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. Lloyd E. Langford of the Freer Gallery of Art, and Mrs. Helen M. Hill of Ann Arbor. To Mrs. Bertha Usilton goes the credit for assembling the index.

A very basic sense of appreciation goes to the Louise W. Hackney Fellowship Board for providing the backing during the period that most of this work was undertaken, and in particular to those members who gave me special guidance during my term as Hackney Fellow, Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., and Mr. A. G. Wenley. To Mr. Wenley, too, must go my particular gratitude for seeing this work through the labors of publication.

Infinitely more than a new paragraph is due the author's wife who has always been there to help.

RICHARD EDWARDS.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
May 1960.

INTRODUCTION

It is well to begin by stating the implicit conclusion of every scroll that Shen Chou * painted: that the end of man is to be found in the world of nature. Each work, whether or not it has poetry on it, is really a poem to nature. Not nature as we would necessarily consider it in the West as something romantic and wild, but just nature. It is a nature which also includes "human nature," for there was no real fear of the natural world, no real attempt to divorce mankind from it, no conscious effort to "conquer" it like some monstrous enemy. Because man was a part of nature, rather than the other way around, the goal of life was to live with, rather than to subdue, the environment. Man was apparently not conceited enough to be afraid of pantheism. The greater is greater; the smaller is smaller. There was no question of this truth because it was self-evident. Man came from nature when he was born; he returned to nature when he died. Life was an accommodation to the fact that if the less is to become greater it must learn from that which is great. Hence all life involved a living in and a study of one's setting.

The setting, and we see this in Shen Chou's landscapes, is not so much wild as cultivated. This is a reflection of centuries of a civilization living with nature. In a painting there is almost always a small boat, a small man, a tiny dwelling, or the trees have been obviously thinned—perhaps even "deforested"—by some diligent woodcutter. Man's works have slowly and inevitably left their mark on the well-lived countryside of China and in a way have made possible the love of nature and its consequent recreation in painting. When nature is too close, too harsh, something always to be fought, it cannot be loved because of fear.

One does not escape the realization, however, even on the wooded hillsides of China, that it is not so much man that has molded nature as it is nature molding man and his civilization. Or, at least, that if man has imposed a certain clarity upon his surroundings, that clarity only leads to greater mysteries. This is not only the obvious fact that all that man has comes from nature, but also that in China there is a very conscious reverence for nature. The trees may go and the floods may come, but the wonder abides forever. The goal, after all, is not a preservation of the specific forms but a union with the spirit and strength of that which partially reveals itself in natural beauty.

There is no fear in burying oneself in nature, for it is the gateway to truth. There is no desire, as expressed in one of the most beautiful of Western poems that:

Once out of nature I shall never take
My bodily form from any natural thing,
But such a form as Grecian goldsmiths make
Of hammered gold and gold enamelling

* Shen Chou was also called: Ch'i-nan; Shih-t'ien, "Field of Stones"; Pai-shih-weng.

To keep a drowsy Emperor awake;
 Or set upon a golden bough to sing
 To lords and ladies of Byzantium
 Of what is past, or passing, or to come.¹

This is to be contrasted with the longing of a Chinese artist:

Already you have wished to leave
 the worries of life
 And, joined with the deep places of
 water and cloud, make them your home.²

This does not mean merely to live with, but to become as, so that one may take on the endurance of the mountains, the everlasting life of the clouds, or even the long years of the great high-flying crane. However Shen Chou may have loved the world, this is the inevitable direction of all his painting.

For the convenience of having it stated early we might give a brief account of Shen Chou's family. We can trace the genealogy back at least four generations to Shen Chou's great-grandfather, Shen Liang-ch'en (Lan-p'o) who founded the estate to the east of Suchou at Hsiang-ch'eng (93, 10/2a) during the disorders that followed the end of the Yüan dynasty (93, 10/3b and 4a). Liang-ch'en's son was Shen Ch'eng. He was usually called by his *tzü*, or style name, Meng-yüan. Although Shen Meng-yüan was an official in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403-25), he returned home and there found much more to his liking the retired life, where in his time he earned something of a reputation as a poet. He lived to be over eighty.

At this time also, his two sons were growing up. The eldest was Shen Chen-chi (Nan-chai, T'ao-an; also using either of the two name characters separately, Chen, or Chi). The younger, Shen Heng-chi, or simply Heng (with a style name, T'ung-chai) was Shen Chou's father.³ Both, as retired scholars, were versed in the characteristic arts of painting and poetry.

Shen Chou's maternal side had no less a scholarly tradition. His mother was the daughter of an old family from Wei-t'ing.⁴ Her father was a retired scholar, Chang Hao (Yen-kuang). He grew old "reading and ploughing,"⁵ the chief occupations of the retired scholar, and his daughter, Chang Su-wan, married Shen Heng-chi, far outliving her husband. She became the object of Shen Chou's famous display of filial piety, which subsequent writers continually praise, as her son re-

¹ *The collected poems of W. B. Yeats*, from *Sailing to Byzantium*, Macmillan, N. Y., 1951, p. 192.

² From a colophon by the Yüan artist and critic, K'o Chiu-ssü, following a painting by Ch'ien Hsüan, "Early Autumn," in the Detroit Institute of Arts. Published in P'ang, *Hsü-chai* (36, 2/2a). (Transl., 27, p. 77.)

³ *Loc. cit.* There is a note which points out that Shen Chou's father died in the thirteenth year of Ch'eng Hua, 1477, at the age of 69, and that Meng-yüan lived to be 88. Both of these statements the compiler Ch'ien Ch'ien-i considers false, but he gives no argument in support. We have a possible reference to the age of Shen Meng-yüan in the form of a colophon on a painting of 1458 by Liu Chüeh (pl. 2, B). In this he signs himself "83 old man." If this is a reference to his age at the time, it means he was born in 1376. At the earliest he would have been an official in his late twenties or early thirties.

⁴ Wei-t'ing or I-t'ing in Kiangsu, 35 li east of Suchou. (See *Ti-ming*, 17, p. 300.)

⁵ For this account of Shen Chou's mother and maternal grandfather see *Shih-wen chi* (93, 10/3a).

fused all official posts on the grounds that he could not leave his widowed mother. She lived to the age of "one hundred," dying in 1506,⁶ when Shen Chou was 80.

Shen Chou had a son, Shen Yün-hung, whom he outlived by "several" years. Shen Yün-hung was himself a scholar, but he lived east of Suchou in the next *hsien*, K'un-shan, where he held a *hsien* position established in the Ming dynasty of Yin-yang-shun-shu. Because of Shen Yün-hung's early death, the burial rites for Shen Chou were carried out by a concubine's son, Shen Fu-hsiang, and a grandson, Shen Lü.⁷

It is also well to establish that this study is inevitably "preliminary." Such tentativeness is dictated by the nature of an undertaking of which the size is the most obvious necessity for limitation. Although Sirén gives a satisfactory general account based on official or well-known sources (104, pp. 69-73), months, perhaps years, of gathering data from widely scattered texts and paintings will be necessary before any kind of comprehensive and accurate biographical summary can be composed. There is, in addition, the problem of the translation and interpretation of Shen Chou's poetry. This, while far easier than the difficult philological task imposed by older Chinese texts, is, because of the literary traditions of the time and the learning of Shen Chou himself, filled with many pitfalls.

Mere bigness, however, is not the essential condition dictating the term "preliminary." It is possible to draw more or less satisfactory boundaries. This has been attempted here in restricting the study to that of certain leading examples of Shen Chou's pictorial art—scrolls that are either available for study in the original or that have been sufficiently well reproduced in publications to warrant some sort of conclusions as to their nature. Where these paintings have involved the interpretation of poetry and the addition of biographical data this has often been included. No painting can be judged merely on what it presents to the eye. With Shen Chou, a painting was the result of a total experience. Usually it was done because of something that occurred at a specific time, for a specific person (although the person could be the artist himself), and was accompanied by literature in the form of an explanatory paragraph or poem. All these facets must be considered.

Even within this restricted area, however, we must stress the tentative nature of conclusions. This is so because of the many-sided genius of the subject and the nature of the traditional setting, the cultural milieu in which he lived. Although Shen Chou was a "retired scholar," he should in no sense be thought of as a lonely hermit breathing the solitary air of an empty mountainside. He retired not to remove himself from, but rather that, freed from the duties of state, he might come closer to the pattern of Chinese civilization. The excuse that he used to remain clear of public attachment—the caring for his widowed mother—is completely in accord with one of the greatest of Confucian virtues, filial piety. He apparently

⁶ Granting the literal fact of this tradition, she would have been 99 by Western reckoning; her dates, then, 1407-1506. Shen Chou was born when she was 21 (20 on a Western scale).

⁷ *Shih-zen chi* (93, 10/3b). For the official post of Ying-yang-shun-shu see *Tz'ü-hai* (124) under Yin-yang Hsüeh, hsü/134.

depended for support on the wealth of the family estates, a prosperity going back to the days of his great-grandfather who established them at the end of the Yüan dynasty. There seems to have been a constant passage of friends to his house, and he in turn was, at least locally, an inveterate traveler, for he loved the world around him and wished to know it both through the eye and through the mind as revealed in the historical traditions of his time and place. Nor was he divorced from the city—the concentrated culmination of any society which stands for what is made by man as opposed to that which is natural and wild. He often visited the city, and as he might stand on its walls to better view the surrounding country,⁸ so, too, one could say that Shen Chou stood firmly on the ramparts of Chinese tradition in order to experience the truth that lay in the universe around him.

A friend who used to visit Shen Chou in his study reports him there amid piles of books, busy early and late, giving no indication of wavering from the task. Pointing to all the learning around him, Shen Chou declared, "I live always surrounded by this debt—and so it is until I die." (93, 10/13a.)

How in practice Shen Chou paid back the deep debt of tradition is indicated by a story of his teaching of the art of poetry. A young student read to him some of his latest verse in which was a line describing an old woman weeping in the light of a lamp. Shen Chou praised it highly—a quality in keeping with this man who always seemed willing to praise the efforts of others. Then he added:

But in the Book of Ceremony (*Li*) it
says, "A widow does not cry at night."
Why do you not substitute for the word
"lamp," the word "spring."
(93, 10/9a-b.)

This deft touch filled Shen Chou's student with deep admiration. For us the story indicates both the characteristic devotion to the past and a tremendous skill in relating that past to the artistic creation of the present. This is constantly evident in Shen Chou's paintings, and finds its expression in early writers who tell us that Shen Chou's real masters were the ancients, or that if his works were mixed up with a painter like Wu Chen one could not separate them. In a kind of reverse process from that indicated in the poetry story, Shen Chou's painting begins with the ancients and it is often only by the insertion of a "character" or "word" here and there that we are able to detect the difference from the model. Particularly is this true of Yüan models which are easier to check since we know, and possibly Shen Chou knew, them better than less well-preserved works of earlier painters.

This applies not only to Shen Chou in relation to the ancients, but also to Shen Chou in relation to himself. Potentially, at least, at any time in his life he could turn back to earlier manners. Often it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether a certain undated work is "early" or "late," or possibly from the "middle years." For the modern who is so preoccupied with the process of history and the tying-up of all events into neat packages of time, this is indeed confusing.

⁸ *Shih-t'ien chi* (91), *ch'i yen lü*, 1/11a. There is also a poem in which he speaks of a retreat and that it need not be among the "thousand peaks," but merely a few *li* from the city on a road leading to the wilds. (*Ibid.*, 1/2b.)

However, we must bow to the facts. Certainly at our present stage of knowledge, the works of Shen Chou simply do not surely fit into a convenient and apparent order—that is, an order according to the appearance of forms in space. As such his work cannot be said to deviate from principles applicable to oriental art as a whole. “It would be thus as much beside the mark to conceive of a progress in art as revealed by a development in *Raumdarstellung* as to seek to establish a stylistic sequence on a supposed more or less close observation of Nature. Let us not forget that the mind is a part, and the most important part, of our knowledge of Nature, and that this point of view, though it may have been forgotten in Europe, has been continuously current in Asia for more than two thousand years.”⁹

Nevertheless, the art historian is not completely defeated. Admitting once again the “preliminary” nature of this inquiry, we are able to attribute something of a historical sequence to the scrolls Shen Chou painted. This attribution is helped by the large number of dated works. As we have said, a painting was the result of an experience. In keeping with the specific purpose of recording that experience and consistent with Chinese devotion to chronology, it was fitting to record place and date. This in no sense detracted from the universal or ideal quality of the meaning. Rather it might be said to enhance it by giving it unmistakable roots within the life of mankind.

At any rate, the historical problem is helped no end, and largely relying on these dated works we have followed a general order which can roughly be considered as “early,” “middle,” and “late”—from before 1471, 1471 to 1490, 1491 to the end—with possibly the decade of the nineties divided from what was done after the turn of the century. This, let me repeat, is tentative, preliminary, and above all convenient. The discovery of new works may well alter the advisability of this organization. They may confuse, or they may clarify, the order assembled here. At any rate we must accept the facts as they come.

As will be seen in the succeeding studies of individual works, it is possible to detect an allover pattern. Shen Chou certainly painted hundreds of scrolls. On the basis of a kind of “straw-vote” analysis whereby a few key precincts give an accurate insight into a total political picture, it is hoped that the relatively few paintings we have been able to study give an accurate forecast of the whole of his art. At least of what is known and preserved we have nothing before Shen Chou had reached his late thirties. These “early” pictures tend to be small, detailed, and executed with a very delicate touch. In the middle years we are given paintings in a strong, bold, almost classic form. In the nineties a wonderful softness is

⁹ Coomaraswamy (22, p. 30). A recent attempt to mold the material of Chinese art into the frame of the Wölfflinian formula of stylistic evolution has met with not too great success. As a reviewer points out: “The method followed in this book is on the whole inapplicable to Chinese art, if only because of the diversity of Chinese art in all periods, and from the fact that the method is irreconcilable with the way that art was created and regarded in the Far East. As has been said so many times, in the traditional periods of Eastern art, objects of painting, sculpture, and architecture were made primarily to satisfy a religious or social need and not to gratify a personal whim—stylistic or aesthetic. The artist created works of art, not works of style.” (80, p. 141.)

apparent, while the later years of the Wu Chen manner tend to rely more on soft, yet free and bold, brushwork.

Lacking more marked patterns of development, it is better to concentrate on each individual work for what it is—its visual forms, its poetry, its calligraphy, its brushwork, even its subsequent history which, by means of other critics' colophons and seals, may add meaning by giving it extension in time as a work for many generations and not just for Shen Chou's own. In the last analysis it is not merely the visual forms that are to be considered significant. It is essentially the idea that must be sought, the idea that finds expression through the many-sided object that is a Shen Chou painting.

It is probably true that Shen Chou, in later periods of his life, never really did return to early forms. We know that at a later stage in his life he actually destroyed a great deal of his own poetry (93, 10/8a-b). We do not know how early this poetry was written. We cannot help but wonder whether some of his paintings received the same fate, particularly as we know of nothing he painted before 1464. This, however, gives us a clue to the fact that for Shen Chou artistic creation, as distinct from conformity to tradition, was not a backward process. It came out of the fullness of the man in the present and was not to be coddled. More would come tomorrow.

But if, thus, a change is implied from day to day, or at least a new painting, an understanding of change must be sought in the total idea rather than a partial analysis of just formal elements. Hence, as I have indicated more fully below, the real difference between a painting in the style of Wang Meng in 1467 and a painting in the style of Wang Meng in 1491 is not in the formal elements (although one can indicate differences in form) but in the meaning. Without having any other such clean-cut comparison, in the best of the later works it is possible to detect an inventive subtlety and wonder which surpasses a sort of tradition-dictated minuteness or conscious detail evident in even the best of the early works. This change is to be attributed not so much to the increased skill of the hand as it is to a deeper knowledge of reality. It is the idea that is constantly shaping the finished product.

A consideration of total meaning brings us to the problem of authenticity. In this study I have not attempted to classify works that I have considered doubtful or definitely spurious. They are merely conspicuous by omission. Nor am I willing to admit that I have not omitted some genuine works. Some reproductions are too shadowy to give grounds for forming judgments. One or two paintings, which I myself have seen, have not yet become available for sufficient study to be included here. In general, however, authenticity must be determined according to a total process, a complete idea. A rather hasty sketch may be complemented by a finished account in poetry or prose brushed above it, and it becomes evident that the meaning is one. The visual forms are incomplete without the literary forms, and one should not condemn the "quality" of the painting without realizing the relation of the sketch to what was really being said. On the other hand, a

rather polished visual performance may be too much so and poetry and calligraphy be awry, or the meaning empty.

How Shen Chou felt about his own art is illustrated by what he wrote on one of his paintings (pl. 7, B). If we are to think of this artist as viewing each creation of his brush as a formal pearl beyond price which was then to be safely enthroned in glass on the shelf of eternity, we are off the track. He could paint while laughing and under the influence of good wine and good fellowship:

Mi is not Mi, Huang not Huang.
Dripping the wet ink spills into clean space
Throw away the brush
Loudly laugh
I'm crazy.
I'm ashamed of Mo Mu and want Mao Ch'iang.

Mao Ch'iang (see footnote 129) stands for a perfect type of external beauty. Mo Mu was extremely ugly, but her ugliness was completely overcome by her unparalleled virtue and goodness. If we always search for Mao Ch'iang in Shen Chou's art, we may not only be disappointed but miss the point. It is Mo Mu whom Shen Chou really worshiped.

In searching for the "idea" of a painting, we actually seem to be doing only what centuries of Chinese critics have done before us when they constantly stressed the significance of "brushwork." This has very little to do with formal organization because forms could be organized more or less according to any patterns at any time in history. Brushwork was something far more intimate: "Painting depends on ink, ink depends on brush, brush depends on wrist, and wrist depends on the heart and mind."¹⁰ So through the painting, through the expression of the brush we return to the idea—the idea that came to the paper through the mind of the artist. If we are to understand the painting of Shen Chou, we must understand this; conclusions based on any other analysis must be questioned as the misleading results of a fragmentary or partial truth.

¹⁰ From Tao-chi, quoted by Rowland, 78, p. 11.

THE FIELD OF STONES

A STUDY OF THE ART OF SHEN CHOU (1427-1509)

By RICHARD EDWARDS

(WITH 51 PLATES)

I. BACKGROUND

Shen Chou owed a debt to all the past, but it is particularly fitting to turn to the past closest to him—the fourteenth century—and there, through a cursory examination of a few leading examples by his Yüan predecessors, try to understand something of the artistic world into which he was born, the forms that he inherited. Because of their ready availability as well as their high quality, I have chosen some paintings in the Freer Gallery of Art: a small typical landscape by Ni Tsan dated 1362 (pl. 1, A), Chu Te-jun's *Hsiu-yeh hsien* of 1364 (pl. 1, C),¹¹ a Wang Meng (d. 1385) landscape (pl. 3), and Wu Chen's *Fishermen* scroll (pl. 5, A).¹² I have added to these a painting in the collection of Mr. J. D. Ch'en in Hongkong that shows the specific scenery of Shen Chou's own section of China, *Clear Distance in Wu-hsing* (pl. 1, B).

The Wang Meng and Wu Chen will be discussed in more detail in relation to specific Shen Chou paintings. Ni Tsan is an ever-recurring source of inspiration for Shen Chou. It is sufficient for the present to point out that the Freer landscape presents a composition which Shen Chou uses a great deal, particularly in later years, involving two angular blocks of land and an empty corridor of river moving back from the left corner to the distance at the right. The exact composition is found in a Ni Tsan style painting by Shen Chou in the Saitō collection (pl. 41, B).

Turning to the skillful but less-known painters Hsü Pen and Chu Te-jun, we are perhaps closer to the general milieu since the individual personalities were not so strong and they did not impress their time with such a peculiar uniqueness as did the most famous masters. Both pictures have in common what we may call a panoramic viewpoint. The observer looks down from a vantage which allows him to see across expanses of plain and water over the tops of hills to the farthest mist-clothed mountains. A corollary to this universal grandeur is the manner of filling in details. Since so much space is represented, no one part can be shown in terms of bigness or exceptional importance. The result is an endless number of small facts, so that the artist's world is peopled with tiny men, frail shelters, and

¹¹ Partially reproduced in 8, p. 74, fig. 12.

¹² Curiously, two of these paintings exist in other and almost identical versions. The Ni Tsan has its counterpart in a landscape in a Japanese collection. See Tōsō, large (119, vol. 3, pl. 19). It is from the Hashimoto collection in Nagasaki. The twin of the Wu Chen from the collection of Wu Hu-fan in Shanghai has been reproduced in a folio by the Commercial Press (134).

little trees. Since so much is contained within a relatively limited area, the actual technique involves a series of tiny strokes, sometimes short lines, sometimes tender washes. Like the taut, thin quality of a Chinese stringed instrument, a great deal of variety and invention is possible, yet the melody sounds a rare note, or series of notes, and our view is from far away on some distant mountainside.

We might mention in passing one or two motifs which are also found in Shen Chou. Paintings by both Hsü Pen and Chu Te-jun begin with an opening angle of land placed in the foreground and dominated by a clump of trees (pl. 1, B, C). At least one of these trees is leaning almost to the point of being horizontal. Hsü Pen's picture then has a wide angular band of water receding at a diagonal from left to right and ultimately, beyond a mountain ridge, into the far distance; a similar interest was mentioned above in Ni Tsan's painting. Chu Te-jun's painting is the subject of a scholar's retreat—the subject of Shen Chou's earliest dated painting. It is this retreat that dominates a prominent middle distance. The background is a series of hills, usually receding at a slight diagonal, whose base is inevitably cottoned in soft colorless mist.

Important as are certain specific patterns or motifs, important, too, as is the panoramic ensemble and the miniature quality of the little objects inhabiting this vastness, one can state that the deft, delicate handling of ink is one quality which binds all fourteenth-century painting under one heading—at least all painting of the nonofficial variety.¹³ However different are expressions of Ni Tsan and Wang Meng, Hsü Pen, Chu Te-jun, and Wu Chen, one is aware of their insistence, each in his own way, on a very special care in handling this apparently simple uniform medium. After all, this was the means at their disposal to express what they really were and how they felt. They extend its possibilities over a great range. Chu Te-jun adds color, but the color is so subdued as to play a minor part. Ni Tsan creates a sparkling jewel-like crispness. Wu Chen apparently painted in at least two manners. One followed the lines of traditional compositions, yet softened them in the interest of his feeling for ink. The other dealt more directly with dripping free washes of dark ink, or dark ink crisply defined. But whether we see him in a traditional type of painting in the Freer (pl. 5, A), in the free washes of a piece in Japan (pl. 37, B), or in the sharp enduring bamboo (pl. 2, A), there is a constant of ink. Wang Meng, by endless repetition of fiberlike strokes, builds writhing, growing forms of rock (pl. 3). Detail and/or ink, ink and detail—these are the twin foundations.

They stand as a kind of testimony to the intense personal quality of painting at this time. Times were out of joint. A foreign dynasty ruled China. These men had retired from the world at least in so far as they painted as they wished, when they wished, out of what was essentially the inner compulsion of the art. They painted because they had to—not from outward necessity, the demands of a patron, a court, or the need for money—but because what was in them needed to be said:

¹³ This might possibly exclude Chao Meng-fu who was the leading painter who worked for the court. For him there is often a different kind of "escape" expressed in his delight in antiquarian forms (32, pls. 264-265; 50, pp. 45-46).

" . . . he did not care to please the people of his time, but used his brush simply to express his natural genius" (103, vol. 2, p. 139). What was said of Wang Meng might also be said of the others. At its extreme this independence, this life and view of life from the rarified mountaintops of the time brought not only an intensely personal art, but an art which scorned the world around mankind. It is not so much the fact of the panoramic view that is new as it is the rendering of it, as in Hsü Pen and Chu Te-jun, with special emphasis on its fragile, ink-gray qualities. Wang Meng turns the inorganic substance of a rock into an organic growing fact which at the same time is as unsubstantial as the swirling mass of a cloud. Ni Tsan's rocks are rare and precious crystals. Wu Chen dissolves the world into the substance of wet ink. There is a classic remark about the painting of his bamboo which suggests that while Wen T'ung (of the Sung dynasty) concealed his painting in the bamboo, Wu Chen concealed the bamboo in the painting (103, p. 144).

Perhaps the best example of how man might conceal the natural world in his own independent rendering of it comes from the rare aesthete Ni Tsan: "I Chung always likes my bamboo paintings. My bamboo is painted just to serve as an outlet for the inspiration in my breast. Why should I bother to compare whether it is like (bamboo) or not, whether the leaves are dense or sparse, the branches bent or straight. At times I smear about for a long while and when someone sees my picture he may call it hemp or he may call it reeds. I certainly couldn't argue to convince him it is bamboo! Really I can't help it."¹⁴

Shen Chou in the next century inherited this background. He, too, became an independent and retired scholar. As part of what was a vast knowledge of the past he clearly knew intimately the painting of the great Yüan masters. We have preserved a Shen Chou poem written about a Chu Te-jun landscape, and although the wording of this kind of writing is of too general and laudatory a nature to show us what the painting really was, the poem's description of "opening up rivers and lakes" (91, *Ch'i yen ku*/14b) is highly suggestive of what we see in the Freer.

Shen Chou knew the Yüan masters. He also imitated those of Sung. In fact, judging from the number of times he "imitated," "copied," or produced scrolls "in the style" of great painters one could claim that antiquity was his real master.¹⁵ But we can assume he was also a child of his environment. As his father and uncle led the life he was to lead and were both painters, he learned from them.¹⁶ Sirén has seen a painting by Shen Chou's uncle, Shen Chen-chi, and attests its fine detail (104, p. 74). This is substantiated by the somewhat foggy reproduction of a 1471 Shen Chen-chi work in a publication of Chinese paintings (pl. 4, A; 13, vol. 4). Basically the painting appears to be a very good one. It is done in a strong, yet a very fine and delicate manner. It is according to a standard type of composition. Finally, it is of that typical subject of the hidden dwelling, secure in a grove of straight and wiry bamboos.

¹⁴ Wang Shih-hsiang (132, p. 57). Quoted from *Ni Yün-lin Hsien-sheng Shih-chi*, Ssü-pu ts'ung k'an edition, Commercial Press, appendix, p. 5a.

¹⁵ Cf. Wen Cheng-ming about Shen Chou, "The old masters were his teachers, and he copied many of them so successfully that his pictures could not be distinguished from theirs." (104, p. 74.)

¹⁶ Sirén quotes Li Jih-hua to this effect (104, p. 74). I have cited this below (p. 61).

Shen Chou also was a close friend of two older contemporaries, both respected artists: Tu Ch'ung (Yung-chia, Tung-yüan) 1396-1474, and Liu Chüeh (T'ing-mei, Wan-an, Ch'ien-hsien) 1410-72.¹⁷

The most interesting, and because of its quality apparently genuine, Tu Ch'ung painting is that at least formerly in the collection of P'ang Yüan-chi in Shanghai (pl. 4, B). It is the subject of a retreat. The foreground composition is exceedingly similar to the Chu Te-jun painting we have examined: an angling bit of land in the lower right, and the retreat in the near middle distance. Beyond an angle of open water is the inevitable receding diagonal of distant hills. The whole is done with a careful attention to detail.

Of Liu Chüeh's paintings, two appear most interesting. One is in the Palace Museum and is again that characteristic subject, the scholar's house removed from the weary turmoil of society, the retreat, and in this case Liu Chüeh's own, entitled *Ch'ing-pai hsien* (pl. 2, B). The other is owned by Mr. C. C. Wang in New York (pl. 5, B). Both of these paintings have Shen Chou colophons. As such they are extremely valuable documents.

The Palace Museum scroll represents an experience which was at the core of the life of the retired gentleman of the time. The *Ch'ing-pai hsien* was Liu Chüeh's house. Because friends came to see him there and had an enjoyable time in feast and song and literary discussion, Liu Chüeh was asked to paint a picture to commemorate the occasion. Those who were there also wrote on it. These latter included Shen Chou's grandfather and father. The grandfather, Shen Meng-yüan, was apparently 83 years old since he signs himself the "Eighty-three Old Man." This was the year 1458. "Seventeen" years later (16 by Western reckoning) in 1474, Liu Chüeh was dead and "the house was empty." Shen Chou saw this painting and at that time wrote his poem and inscription on it, thinking back over what was now gone forever.¹⁸ But Shen Chou apparently was not one of the original gathering. He would have been only 22 at the time.

The painting in New York (pl. 5, B) is the passing scene impressed on the artist at a moment of time: the song of a bird on a lonely mountain, the shadow of the trees, the scattering clouds—all this happened once while traveling and "now they are seen in the painting." So Liu Chüeh's poem tells us. What we are given is, according to a kind of landscape formula and in swift, sure strokes, the sense of something fleeting which has been caught forever.

Shen Chou's poem is more explicit about the experience:

Clouds gather and melt into the light
of rivers.
The moon emerges scattering shadows
of bamboo.
No need now the journey to West Lake;
For in the mountains we meet it face
to face.

¹⁷ For paintings by these masters see Tu Ch'ing, 86, vol. 10; 106, p. 91; Liu Chüeh, 25; 50, No. 40; 47, vol. 4; 106, p. 90; 120, pl. 238.

¹⁸ For other poems mourning Liu Chüeh's death see *Shih-ven chi*, 93, 5/7b-8a. Shen Chou also has a poem describing a similar literary gathering, to be discussed below under *Mid-Autumn Moon*, the Boston scroll, p. 27.

He follows this with a brief explanation, telling that three of them on their way to Lin-an, which is south of Hangchow and is the reason why Shen Chou mentions Hangchow's West Lake in the poem, were stopped by a late snow, now in the second month of the year 1471. So Liu Chüeh did this small landscape and poem. To this Shen Chou and Shih Ming-ku (Chien) added poems following the rhyme scheme already set by Liu Chüeh.

There are several interesting facts about this description. In the first place it is an actual scene. Both Liu Chüeh and Shen Chou attest the fact that it was something seen and experienced in a moment of time and that now it is to be seen in the painting. Thus it has been preserved.

Although it is a scene in the mountains, it is supposed to convey the mountains in terms of the unsubstantial light of river and lake. This at least is what Shen Chou saw in it—that and moonlight—so much so that it seemed hardly necessary to complete the journey to the most famous lake of them all. Although the scene is in the mountains, the composition is one remarkably close to a composition that was used again and again to portray the scenery of river and lake—a foreground promontory with trees and a receding diagonal of water. Here the water, being in the mountains, is narrow and filled with boulders. Liu Chüeh makes no mention of moonlight, yet Shen Chou felt it was there, and apparently the travelers had experienced it. It is right, too, that we, in looking at the painting, aided by Shen Chou's sensitivity, should sense the brittle indiscriminate light of a cold moon in early spring. Much of this is conveyed by the swift crisscrossing *ts'un*, or brush strokes, which at times give the effect of sparse shadows across pale land. It is also heightened by the dark sheets of distant mountains which might thus loom in the night.

Although the experience is specific and so understood by Liu Chüeh and Shen Chou, the mood is of a general quality applicable to mountain or moonlight or cloud-covered river. The experience is the fact, not the outward appearance of landscape. As such the style conveying that experience suggests the personal vigor of the artist. In origin it probably stems from the Yüan master, Huang Kung-wang. It is entirely in keeping with the aims of that master's art: "He wandered about with paper and brush in his sleeve, and when he came to some beautiful scenery he instantly took down a record of it. . . . He examined intensively the changing effects of morning and evening over the mountains and the light and shade of the four seasons, storing them all in his mind and expressing them with his brush." (103, p. 138.)

This matter of the feeling of light and shadow is not without more recent antecedents, however. I know of a painting by Wang Fu (1362-1416) owned by a private collector in Switzerland which gives something of the same effect. Otherwise this Wang Fu work is a direct reminder of more common traditions of earlier decades. It has the pale loneliness of an empty hut and a deserted boat. It is the general subject of a "retreat," and it becomes yet another variation of an old and universal theme with the convention of the receding misty line of far hills.¹⁹

¹⁹ Wang Fu's pupil, Hsia Ch'ang (1388-1470), might also give us some minor parallelisms with the general style of Shen Chou. One thinks particularly of a detail such as that of a plateau-like rock in a painting from

Since the Liu Chüeh painting was done late in the artist's life and at a time when Shen Chou had become old enough to be a close comrade of his father's old friend, one cannot believe that it did much to form Shen Chou's art. We already have Shen Chou paintings dating several years before this. What it means is that Shen Chou and Liu Chüeh, now close friends despite a difference in age, were painting something of the same thing. Shen Chou was an admirer of Huang Kung-wang, and we will see that on another occasion when Shen Chou was to do a painting for Liu Chüeh he thought of Huang Kung-wang. Finally, the whole is tied into a neat package by the fact, which will be explored more fully below, that on this same expedition in 1471 Shen Chou painted a landscape scroll clearly in the style of Huang Kung-wang.

To the art that Shen Chou inherits he will contribute something new. If the examples we have chosen above are generally characteristic, we can assume that Shen Chou's predecessors and his immediate contemporaries operated rather consistently according to concepts of design which were well established. In actual execution, in the nature of their brushwork, they were likely to stress the small, the minute, often involving far views and empty distance. On the other hand, when objects were presented in larger scale, the texture of substance was so altered by the particular personal interpretation of the artist as to lose objective existence and become the fact of an inward vision. All emphasized the unsubstantial qualities of the world. These scholars, withdrawn from an alien environment, were clearly skeptical of it. Eventually Shen Chou will change much of this, particularly in the direction of a kind of positive clarity and strength. In this sense it seems as though Shen Chou speaks out for his time as distinct from the times that went before. It is the middle of the Ming, and the Ming was the last of the three great Chinese-controlled dynasties that ruled China. As such it takes its place with the great Han and T'ang periods before it. Shen Chou might well speak boldly as he does, and in his art is a new strength, something uniquely his that was to give fame both to him and to his time.

Shanghai, *Bamboos and Springs* (38, II, No. 9[4]) and Shen Chou's constant use of this theme. The distinction is clear, however, between the soft understatement of Shen Chou's predecessors and his own positive boldness.

II. EARLY WORKS

The understanding of Shen Chou's early paintings is helped by a statement of his famous pupil, Wen Cheng-ming, to the effect that it was not until he was "more than forty" that he painted large scrolls. This statement originally appeared in a colophon added to a small Shen Chou landscape in the style of Wang Meng. The painting was done in 1471 and was, when Wen Cheng-ming wrote about it 27 years later, considered to be a painting of Shen Chou's early period (93, 10/12a; also 104, p. 74). We are not surprised then, to discover that Shen Chou's earliest works of the sixties, and some at least as late as 1471, either in actual size or the way they are painted, reflect the careful and the minute.

The first dated work is a hanging scroll in the Abe collection (pl. 6, A). It was done in 1464. It is small, approximately two and a half feet high by one foot wide. It thus conforms to Wen Cheng-ming's idea of Shen Chou's early production. The subject is that of a scholar's retreat. For Shen Chou this idea represents the summit, the peak of the good life. He was brought up in a tradition that constantly reiterated this fact. His father and grandfather lived that way. So did his uncle and his teacher. He himself was to live that life to its highest attainment, the most famous type of his generation, a model for generations to come. It is fitting that this idea should be so early and clearly expressed.

It is curious that we should have to wait until Shen Chou was 38 before we have a certain datable work. It probably means that Shen Chou did little in the field of painting until relatively late in life.²⁰ We can postulate a long period of scholarly training with particular emphasis on the literary traditions of China; that he leaned heavily on, and at least within the local circle was greatly overshadowed by, his elders whose interests were the same as those which would occupy him a lifetime and with whom he could hardly compete. Nor, following Chinese tradition with its concepts of respect and filial piety, would there have been the slightest desire to overshadow one's elders.

Just as we saw above in Liu Chüeh's paintings, here on Shen Chou's art several friends and relatives have written poems. This is proof of his close absorption within an inner circle of the faithful—members of his own household. They clearly are the first to praise Shen Chou; but within such homelike limits the artist must have already built something of a reputation. The painting was not just a pleasant exercise but was requested by Sun Erh (Shu-shan), and Shen Chou has written on the painting that Mr. Sun has "long been asking" him to do this. As

²⁰ The observation that when Sesshū visited China he knew nothing of Shen Chou has been laid to the fact that he had no interest in this kind of painting (see 111, under English summary of an article by Prof. Seiichi Taki). Shen Chou was then between the ages of 41 and 43. Actually, even had Sesshū been interested, he probably would not have heard of Shen Chou, who even at this late period had not yet emerged to acquire a significant name for himself.

we shall see below, sometime within the next few years Liu Chüeh will be similarly begging a painting from Shen Chou.

The circle of intimates who added their poems to the Abe picture are Shen Chou's uncle, Shen Chi or Shen Chen (Chen-chi, Tao-an); Chou Hsiu (Kung-tsan, Ts'ao-t'ing) who studied painting under both Shen Chou's father and uncle; Chou Pen (Tsung-tao) who was the teacher in Shen Chou's household, teaching both Shen Chou's younger brother and Shen Chou's son; Shen Chao (Chi-nan) the artist's younger brother; and finally Shen I (T'ing-tso) who lived in retirement in the Tung-lin or Eastern Wood, an intimate friend as is attested by several poems handed down to us in Shen Chou's collected works.

Just as Shen Chou was working close to friend and family and his own unique strength had not yet emerged, so, too, one can say that within this picture the artist is bound by the patterns of his day. Both composition and delicacy of brush relate closely to a fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century heritage. For example, the subject matter and the delicate execution recall Tu Tung-yüan's painting of only nine months previous (pl. 4, B) even to the point of peppering the surface with fine dots as on the foliage and mountains of Shen Chou's painting. Again, the Abe scroll presents an interesting comparison with his uncle's work of seven years later, 1471 (pl. 4, A).

The formula is clear. There is a foreground promontory accentuated, in Shen Chou, by several trees, one of which leans over abruptly in contrast to the others. A diagonal leads back to the object of main interest, here the hut which is the quiet retreat in a bamboo grove. The distance is backed by a diagonal line of sheer mountain. The sky is the empty paper. And that is all.

The actual ink could be said to be both dry and soft, and it is the softness, the soft, damp heat of a summer day in the Yangtze Valley, that predominates. There are no sharply contrasted values without a sense of fudging over, black into gray, gray into white. The background mountains are treated in this fashion, in gradations of dry ink wash, partly to give a sense of form and solidity to the rocks, partly to wrap them in the vague mystery of lingering mists. Later these background mountains will become clear sheets of wash, very fixed and solid curtains for the scenes enacted at their base.

Careful observation, however, will reveal that there is not the slightest sense of real weakness in the brush strokes that are blended by this atmospheric ink. The sure strength of individual strokes is one of the most positive signs of the master's brush. Here it can be seen in the fine, thin lines of the foreground trees, or in the light structure of the towering cliffs by the bright path of a mountain waterfall. The delicate brush traces, too, as with the fourteenth-century scholar Chu Te-jun (pl. 6, B), extend to a hairlike definition of the more insignificant things that inhabit this quiet world: moored ships, an oxcart, the simple open retreat itself (pl. 6, C).

There are two Shen Chou paintings dated a couple of years later, in 1466, one from Japan in the Ueno Collection (pl. 7, A), the other in The Art Institute in

Chicago (pl. 7, C). With the Ueno painting we may link another of similar composition in the Palace Museum, Taichung (pl. 7, B).

The Ueno picture has for a subject *Gathering Waterchestnuts*, and as such is really a kind of genre painting, the earliest pictorial record of Shen Chou's interest in local customs, the local scene. The gathering of waterchestnuts was the work of women, which, like the tending of mulberry trees and the weaving of silk, helped in the economics of the ideal household, while the men plowed the fields. It is a subject that will recur in Shen Chou, and more, it is our first introduction to a part of the environs that was a continual preoccupation of the artist—lake and river and the life of the frail wooden craft that plied their vastness.

In style, the formula of the Abe picture—this time from the left rather than the right—is seen again: it is even smaller (1'2" x 8"); withdrawn slightly from the bottom edge of the picture is a foreground promontory with several trees, one leaning abruptly; a diagonal leads to the main interest in the middle distance, the women in their boats gathering the chestnuts; the background is blocked by an angling line of soft, rolling hills; while the surface texture is that same combination of fine, soft strokes of wash, and here delicate color, that we have found in the Abe painting.

Because of a tremendous compositional similarity it is fitting now to discuss a small landscape in the Palace Museum (pl. 7, B). As it was done for Shen Chou's elder friend, the painter Liu Chüeh, it can be no later than 1472 when Liu Chüeh died. It recalls, too, Liu Chüeh's own painting of 1471, now owned by Mr. C. C. Wang in New York (pl. 5, B). On both these landscapes, another mutual friend, Ch'en Meng, added his colophon. The Palace Museum picture is a spontaneous document dashed off at Liu Chüeh's insistence when Shen Chou was drunk. As such, Shen Chou complains about it: "Mi is not Mi, Huang is not Huang." It is neither Mi Fu nor Huang Kung-wang. The very fact that he mentions his failure conveys to us what was in his mind. As the picture clearly does not give us the characteristic mannerisms of the Sung artist, we are left with Huang Kung-wang, or at least a shadow. Mi Fu is probably mentioned in the poem because these two are so traditionally linked in Chinese criticism.

A Huang Kung-wang formerly in Peking, the *Mountain Village* (103, pl. 116), shows very clearly a detail repeated by Shen Chou, namely the trees which Huang Kung-wang was accustomed to scatter over his mountains—a combination of vertical and horizontal wash often with two lines for the trunk and a few splashes of the brush for leaves. The dark sheet of far mountain is a device employed by Huang Kung-wang in a long scroll from the Palace Museum, the *Fu-ch'un Mountains* (pl. 8, A; 59, pp. 143-146). As to compositional similarities, a close correspondence can be found in this section of the *Fu-ch'un* masterpiece and also in a painting from the P'ang collection in Shanghai (103, pl. 117). This is accepted by Sirén and certainly reflects the general manner. The detail of a bare and broken tree on the foreground promontory is repeated in Shen Chou's painting for Liu Chüeh; while the general effect of far, rounded hills as though molded by a soft diffusing light, bare except for a few moist dots on the summit and ringed at

the base by a line of trees—all this is found in the Ueno picture, *Gathering Waterchestnuts* (pl. 7, A).

To complete the argument and further clarify the strong influence of Huang Kung-wang at this period of the late sixties and very early seventies is a scroll of mountain scenery, *The Mountains of Ling-yin* (Ling-yin shan t'u-chüan), by Shen Chou, at least formerly in a Chinese private collection (pl. 8, B). The reproduction by the Wen-ming shu chü (87) is a mere shadow, but the whole has the appearance of authenticity. It is signed, not only with a poem but also with a short explanation. The scroll was done in 1471 and on the same trip to the south during which Liu Chüeh painted the small landscape (pl. 5, B) for Shen Chou's brother:

Liu Chüeh and Shih Ming-ku, with me and my brother, Chi-nan,
traveling among the lakes and mountains came to Fei-lai-feng and could not bear to leave.

So Shen Chou did this painting of the mountains while they delayed, and although he does not specifically declare the fact, he brings in much of Huang Kung-wang—the bare curving hills clothed in little but their own light, a few dots and swiftly brushed trees, and far dark washes of mountain sometimes showing beyond.

Huang Kung-wang was interested in the effect of light on the mountains, but he was also interested in structure, "drawing the mountain peaks and rocky ledges with a firm and strong brush."²¹ It is this sense of structure that has a lasting effect on Shen Chou. *The Mountain Village* (103, vol. 2, pl. 116) is a clear example. Here on the rocks of the hills Huang Kung-wang has built by constant repetition of horizontal and vertical strokes a firmly planted painting of bridge and house and tree. It is not without that sense of repeated detail which we have found characteristic of a fourteenth-century panoramic viewpoint; but what was not found in the other fourteenth-century masters is, almost as in Cezanne, its unshakable solidity. This fact, impressed upon Shen Chou, simplified and made more bold, will be the basis of his mature style in the seventies and eighties.

The Chicago painting, *Return from Stone Lake* (pl. 7, C), brings us back to 1466 and another famous Yüan master, Ni Tsan. At first glance of possibly different stuff, actually in general intent it is exceedingly similar to the Ueno painting. It is a handscroll and hence extends for several feet, but the same essentially soft, delicate character is preserved in this longer painting. By Chinese computation, Shen Chou is 40, and we are still clearly dealing with a small miniature-like production. Furthermore, the compositional elements, altered slightly to meet a new pictorial problem, are essentially the same: a promontory with at least one leaning tree; an angling passage of water; the main interest, which is here the lake itself, presented in the middle distance; and a slightly angled background of lofty peaks, soft, and often wreathed in mist.

The painting, according to Shen Chou's own statement on it, was done in imitation of Ni Tsan. As this painter was noted for his unique expression of lonely dry emptiness, it is hardly surprising that the allover effect of *Return from Stone*

²¹ According to Chang Ch'ou, the famous Ming critic (Sirén, 103, p. 138).

Lake gives us exactly that feeling. But it seems almost as though a film or gauze had been dropped between us and what we are viewing. Technically some of this is produced by the brushing of a very light ink wash over the whole surface of the paper. The feeling of remoteness—a heritage from the immediate past—is reinforced by the truly inconspicuous part played by the works of man. As already noted, they are largely withdrawn into the middle distance, or when they are slightly more important, as the bridge and the houses in the beginning of the Chicago picture, are (following the Ni Tsan model) strangely unsubstantial. The bridge is cantilevered over the water with no central support; the houses are thin imaginings of line and wash. The boats on Stone Lake are scarcely visible, fading lines on the distant water, from which there is, as the poem above them tells, "still no return."

Although Shen Chou, while his elders still lived and were the leading spirits in his world, makes no real effort, beyond the fact of his skill, to insert his own personality into his works, there are one or two technical devices which become more and more apparent later, but which have their first suggestions in these early efforts. Most noteworthy in the *Return from Stone Lake* are the dark patches of black ink, sometimes dots of undergrowth, sometimes spears of grass, or perhaps the inked foliage of a tree. But these spots of jet black are not oriented according to depth relationships. They do not fade to lower values in the distance. There are jet-black dots on far points as well as near. They act as an abstract leitmotif playing over the surface of the picture against the quiet gray background. Here, although distant spots of black ink do not fall off in value, they are fewer and smaller. They do not jump out at one, destroying the essential serenity of the picture, but rather are a kind of distant echo helping to connect the far and the near, separated as they are by intervening distances of mist and water.

Technique apparently undergoes a violent revolution in a painting of the following year, 1467, *Towering Mount Lu* (pl. 9, A). It is a large picture, some 6 feet high and 3½ feet wide. It should, from its size, mark the beginning of his maturity. But it will be remembered that Wen Cheng-ming was indicating a work of his early period as late as 1471, and we conclude from this that the change from small pictures was not one that took place at a single instant of time, but rather that only gradually as he progressed through his forties did he emerge with a different style.

Sirén points to another innovation in that here the artist is following for the first time the style of Wang Meng (104, p. 77). This is evident in the turbulent, twisting crags that swirl upward to the great height of Mount Lu. A glance at Wang Meng's style immediately reveals Shen Chou's dependence. Even the fact of writing the title in seal characters is a characteristic of the Yüan master. He paints great masses of towering crags infinitely defined with tiny strokes of the brush. We see the same in Shen Chou's mountains.

The result of Wang Meng's painstaking curvilinear rock formations is to give his stones and mountains a kind of organic life of their own. Wang Meng's painting of a small stone from sacred Mount Sung in Honan has just this effect

(pl. 9, B).²² It gives us a substantial clue to the meaning for which Wang Meng was searching. Although there is no mention of the fact on the painting itself, the published title speaks of this stone as being a "cloud-stone." Indeed, it is just that, a swirling, moving mass like a great cumulous billow unfolding in the summer sky. In meaning, the stone and the grass that grew on it had the effect of conveying long life. This, of course, could be said of all mountains and similarly for rocks that, as pieces of those mountains, often were symbolic of their strength. Most particularly would this apply to a specimen of rock from that mountain that stood at the very center of the world, the pivot and anchor of all that revolved around it, sacred Mount Sung. But in this case our understanding must go beyond that of the giants of the earth and take in that of the cloud, for this rock is like a cloud. Clouds were not only symbols of purity, signs of a kind of removal from the sullied nature of the world and all its petty attachments, but also held in their nature the quality of the everlasting and hence of immortality. To take a line from the T'ang poet Wang Wei, "The white clouds have no end."²³

Since this painting of a cloud-rock is done in exactly the same style as Wang Meng's characteristic representations of great mountains, we cannot escape the truth that somehow Wang Meng saw all mountains in terms of the unsubstantial and yet everlasting endurance of the clouds. This, as well, is entirely in keeping with the more general fourteenth-century view as expressed by the other retired artists of the time—a view which could only see the external world as a fragile structure, important not because of its factual appearance, but because it was the starting point of a magic inward view which transformed it into something both more beautiful and more real because it was able to strip off the veil of worldly illusion.

That the outward aspects of man or man's creations have very little to do with this inner growing turbulent reality of mind, rolling mountain and, also, growing tree, is made clear by the matter-of-fact and often frail delineations of men and houses. One could say that there is in reality no outward mountain but only man's view of it.

In the Wang Meng scroll in the Freer Gallery (pl. 3) the buildings are neat line drawings fully in accord with the most ancient traditions which define this sort of thing as "boundary painting." The people are what they are supposed to be, distinguished by nothing else than the fact that they are servants and scholars. This contrast between what is man and what is the artist's concept of the world around man serves all the more to emphasize the artist's meaning, for true strength can hardly lie in matter-of-fact structures of mankind or the ordinary appearance of the creatures who are their inhabitants.

The painting of Mount Lu is very close to the Yüan master both in technique and in the meaning he was trying to convey. It was done on a feast day, the fifth of

²² *T'ōsō*, 120, p. 177. According to Wang Meng's seal characters, this rock is related to Ta-yü shih on Mount Sung. This spot was made famous by a visit of the Emperor Han Wu Ti. (See *Shuo Sung*, 97, 12/23a and 11/18a.) In part he quotes the *Shen-hsien chuan* (Records of Immortals).

²³ "Sung Pieh." (See 112, p. 7, under *wu yen ku*, Wang Wei.)

the fifth month, as a birthday gift for Ch'en K'uan (Hsing-an), an elder friend and teacher of Shen Chou when he was young.²⁴ Shen Chou imitated Wang Meng not just in an effort to be clever or to deceive, but because he wished to convey ideas of enduring life and to transmit them to an old and respected teacher that he, like the mountains, might live forever. This particular Kiangsi mountain was chosen because, as Shen Chou's colophon says, Ch'en K'uan's ancestors had originally come from this part of China.

Making allowances for the horizontal type of painting in the Freer Wang Meng, Shen Chou's formal dependence is clear. We have the elements of pine in the foreground, a white field of stream whose turbulence is marked by lines of the brush, a long flat drop of falling water defined by gray washes. Rocks and trees writhe and twist, caught in a living jungle of brush strokes. The pierced hole in the rock behind the pines is an obvious Shen Chou concession to Wang Meng's swirling sculpture.

Yet it is not completely Wang Meng. Characteristics we have seen in earlier small paintings are still here. The use of several trees with one leaning abruptly is not, as we have seen, confined to Shen Chou's direct imitation of Wang Meng's style, and, as in the Abe 1464 painting, the leaning tree is encumbered with a vine. Wang Meng was more interested in contrasting his organic rocks with the stiff detail of architecture. Shen Chou, in this period, hides his signs of man much more effectively. The little man on the promontory is no more important than the tiny oxcart in the Abe painting. He stands before a mass of wilderness.

As in most of his early works, Shen Chou still relies on a basic compositional pattern, reduced to the bare bones: a foreground promontory, a receding platform of water, the significance of middle-distance detail (waterfall, bridge, the foundation rocks of the mountain), and finally, the whole backed by an angled line of mountain peaks. It may be looked upon as a kind of vertical version of the popular type. Where it most surely distinguishes itself from Wang Meng is in the rather craggy boldness, abrupt breaking lines, and stern pinnacles as opposed to the curving forms of the Yüan artist.

In the last analysis this ambitious and crowded painting cannot be understood except against a very specific background of centuries of Chinese tradition. This is the reason for what is essentially a didactic painting. The painstaking nature of composition and detail as seen by the eye is paralleled by the long and often learned poem which packs so many characters so neatly into the upper right-hand corner, and which is a long dissertation both on the wonders of the "five old men," as the peaks are called, and the lofty eminence of Shen Chou's teacher. "Tall, how tall is the mountain Lu." And how far back it stretches in the annals of Chinese civilization. To mention only a few of the greats with whom its name is associated, one might start in the fourth century with the famous monk Hui-yüan, and

²⁴ Ch'en K'uan, Meng-hsien, Hsing-an. He came from a family that was known for its learning. He was the son of Ch'en Chi, Ssü-ch'u, Chien-t'ao (93, 10/1a; 16, p. 1106). Ch'en Chi was the teacher of Shen Chou's father and uncle (93, 10/3b). Ch'en K'uan's grandfather was the Yüan dynasty painter Ch'en Ju-yen (16, p. 1070). For a painting by Ch'en Ju-yen see 50, p. 147.

the immortal poet T'ao Ch'ien. For painting it is particularly interesting that Ku K'ai-chih is reported to have painted the mountain in his travels. During the fifth century the poet Pao Chao (421-465) wrote at least two poems about Mount Lu. In the T'ang dynasty Li Po retired there at the time of the An Lu-shan rebellion (755). Meng Hao-jan climbed it and wrote a poem about it. Po Chü-i built a hut on the slopes of Mount Lu, and, as we shall see below, Chao Meng-fu painted the Yüan Taoist figure Wu Ch'üan-chieh seated by a waterfall on this mountain. History such as this, and more, Shen Chou surely knew. He could hardly afford to paint the great peak without the care and respect due its eminence.²⁵ Justly related to Ch'en K'uan through the sacred thread of ancestral association, it becomes a fitting subject through which Shen Chou can declare all that he owes his teacher.

As a result, we should look on the mountain as a kind of portrait of Ch'en K'uan. We move from the tiny pillar-like scholar in the foreground to the circular cavern in the rock directly above him. This cavern, so strategically located over the painting's only human form, and so closely fringed by the pines—a ready reference to human nobility (48, p. 37)—acts as a kind of vortex which sucks us in toward the heart of the swirling complexity that towers above. Just as Ch'en K'uan's noble character must be thought of essentially as a patiently acquired composite of centuries of Chinese wisdom, so Shen Chou has fused into a noble whole an extraordinary array of shifting vibrant forms that owe the basis of their being to the artists of the past—Wang Meng, and certainly behind that to the creators of the noble mountains of the tenth century. Brushwork is enriched by subtle color: reds, yellows, gray, blue. The mood is properly autumnal.

In these traces of Shen Chou's earliest work as a painter we have seen the styles of Wang Meng, Ni Tsan, and Huang Kung-wang, and we have seen the style of incidental recording which can best be attributed to Shen Chou's scholarly elders. But throughout the whole there is a rather consistent means of creation which plays the compositions of the past with fresh skill and vigor. Yet another such painting comes from the Dubosc collection (pls. 9, C, 10, B) and is in the style of the Yüan dynasty painter of birds and flowers, Wang Yüan. It was painted the year after the Mount Lu effort and in size is far loftier than the mountain. It is approximately 9½ feet high but, like the mountain, is similarly painted in ink and light colors.

A comparison of Shen Chou's bird and flower painting with the avowed model, Wang Yüan, shows a more general and naturally objective point of view. A Wang Yüan owned by C. T. Loo (pl. 10, A; 78, pl. viii, No. 15) spirals upward in an angular twisting arrangement of rock and shrub to explode in the flight of a sparrow. The strong ink lines that define segments of stalks, outlines of bamboo, and thorny bare branches contribute a stiff archaic effect. The painting is very much on a stage with each separate element carefully delineated whether it be quail or chrysanthemum, bamboo or sparrow.

²⁵ For mention of the association of these figures with Mount Lu see Pao Chao poems in *Pao-shih chi* (73, 8/8b); Hui-yüan and T'ao Ch'ien, Waley (129, p. 41); Ku K'ai-chih, Ferguson (28, p. 48); Li Po, Waley (131, p. 62); Meng Hao-jan (*idem*, p. 11); Po Chü-i, Waley (130, p. 120).

Shen Chou's painting is far broader, vaster, calmer, and generally more pictorial. This sense of bigness is not merely a fact of its size. Nor is the pictorial quality merely a matter of adding light colors. The foliage, which has now been transformed into a small tree, more than fills the frame, and since its ends are cut by the edge of the paper, we are given the feeling that it extends far beyond. The greater calm of the Ming artist is seen most succinctly in the action of the birds. Wang Yüan's sparrows perch nervously on the edge of the bare twigs or burst into the air. With Shen Chou one of two bulbuls is swooping down to join his companion who already rests calmly on the branch (pl. 9, C). Contributing, too, to the sense of repose is a greater sense of naturalness. We accept the rock as actually existing in the world around us, as opposed to Wang Yüan's twisting symbol. Very clear also is Shen Chou's technique of bringing out the form of the tree trunk by applying washes to either side, giving the bulk of the bark a kind of abstract highlight. Wang Yüan's angular staccato shapes have become curvilinear in form.

Here it is worth noting that in Shen Chou's imitation of these two Yüan masters, Wang Meng and Wang Yüan, he is apparently going in contrary directions. On the one hand, Mount Lu turns Wang Meng's soft, curving cloudlike forms into rocks that are angular, abrupt, and craggy. On the other hand, the Dubosc bulbuls take the staccato forms of Wang Yüan and transform them into something broad and soft and far more curvilinear. Shen Chou's interpretations, however, must be understood not in the light of mere appearance, the nature of the external forms, but rather in terms of essential meaning and the real intent of his art. In both of these paintings Shen Chou moves in the direction of an interpretation of nature which is more objective than that of either of his predecessors. Rather than the ethereal rocks of Wang Meng, Shen Chou saw in Mount Lu a wild, craggy, and above all rocky kind of immortality—in a word, the very mountainlike qualities of a mountain. Similarly, he discarded Wang Yüan's rather symbolic archaic forms in favor of a softer, more curvilinear, more natural interpretation of rock and tree and bird. Seen in this light, these two paintings of 1467 and 1468 have much in common, and it is a foretaste of what seems to have been Shen Chou's great contribution to the art of his time that, operating very closely according to established tradition, he should yet infuse a new and objective force that would rescue it from the delicate introspection of his immediate predecessors.

Finally, Wang Yüan's "stage" has received something of the arrangement of an early Shen Chou landscape: the importance of the foreground promontory, the receding diagonal of flat water which takes us far beyond the limits set by Wang Yüan's hazy grasses. The subject precludes the idea of any background of mountains, and the general up-front character of Shen Chou's painting is a clear concession to his model. But again, Shen Chou emerges as Shen Chou, and if one would like to be left with a general idea of characterization, one should remember that Shen Chou is here more interested in the undisturbed re-creation of what really makes the world than in either a specific artist's personal view of it or a detailed record of the actors momentarily inserted there. Two tiny birds are all that inhabit

the great sheet of paper, and they are settling quietly down to become a part of tree and rock and stream.

Shen Chou's somewhat timidly emerging objectivity is further affirmed by a painting that the artist himself, toward the end of his life, recognized as an early and genuine "trace" of his art (pl. 10, C). This fact he recorded in a colophon above the picture. The colophon is dated 1501. The painting is that of *Towering Mountains above a Retreat*, now at Taichung. It was done for a friend, Ma I-chih, but then the story becomes more complex. It eventually fell into the hands of I-kuei. I-kuei appears to be Liu Chüeh's younger brother and Liu Chüeh inscribed the painting for him while he was still studying (it is possible even that he gave him the painting) "to forward the time when he shall have gone far and become great." This was in 1470. Two years later more history was recorded:

In the spring of 1472 Liu Chüeh died and I-kuei brought this painting asking, in my home at the capital, for an inscription. And so I wrote the above. The twenty-sixth of the eighth month. Recorded by Wen Lin.

Wen Lin was the father of Shen Chou's great follower, Wen Cheng-ming. His colophon is perhaps the last written on the actual painting. But a week earlier, on the nineteenth, Wu K'uan had brushed his comments. One other, as yet undeciphered figure, wrote a brief poem in the upper right-hand corner. But when Shen Chou saw the painting in 1501, all but two of these old friends had passed into the world of the immortals.

The painting is important history. As style it is a clarified Mount Lu. There appears to be no signature or date at the time of the painting. But we must place it at least before the first dated writing of 1470. Like Mount Lu we enter at the base where a briefly winding stream takes us quickly to the middle distance. In the arrangement of peaks, merely exchange left for right, and the composition is strikingly similar to the dated work of 1467. The narrow line of stream falls at the right. What distance there is recedes to the left. The delicacy of touch, the tiny house, and the tinier scholar in the middle distance recall the early Abe picture of 1464.

But this painting is not mere formula. It starts with an unusual format. Minute though tall, it is only eight Chinese inches wide. Its smallness confirms its early date. However, the artist has used his shape to record a towering monumentality, columnar peaks of impossible height whose firm summits loom wider than their bases. Yet their bases surely are as deeply rooted as Shen Chou's craft, for there is no fear of collapse, only wonder that this paradox should stand, and stand so firmly. For our history we can once again be assured that Shen Chou's lack of weakness was established early.

Perhaps the loveliest of all the generally known works that come within the area of Shen Chou's early style is an album at least formerly in Japan in the Hayashi collection. There are six frames existing from an assemblage that once held nine (pls. 11, 12, 13, B). Historically speaking this is one of the better known works of Shen Chou. We can date its beginnings rather closely since the final

sheet has a long inscription by Shen Chou's elder contemporary, the artist Tu Ch'ung, dated 1471. Here he explains:

Chi-nan brought out the painting, *Gathering Waterchestnuts*, by his elder brother, Shih-t'ien (Shen Chou), and requested a poem. At that time I was not able to compose one, and so I brushed the above which is one I had previously written. Since the idea expressed is very close to the scene in the painting, he said it was all right.

The connection of Shen Chi-nan, Shen Chou's younger brother, with this album is of particular interest because we know of an album of 12 leaves which was done by Shen Chou for this same brother, and each leaf, as well, had a comment by Tu Ch'ung. Shen Chou also wrote on it. Professor Taki believes there is no connection between these two albums, that our final sheet could not have come from the 12-leaf set (111, p. 55). Certainly Shen Chou has written nothing on the Hayashi album, and the only marks of the artist are four similar seals bearing one of his names, "Ch'i-nan," stamped on each of four paintings. What mention of this other 12-leaf album tells us is that Shen Chou, Shen Chi-nan, and Tu Ch'ung lived in close friendship and that the Hayashi record of this relationship is not an isolated phenomenon.

From various accounts we are able to learn that all the original nine paintings were in imitation of famous artists of the past.²⁶ The list in original order follows:

1. Chao Meng-fu (Wu-hsing) (pl. 11, A).
2. Wang Meng, d. 1385.
3. Wu Chen, 1280-1354.
4. Chao Po-chü, Kao Tsung (1127-62) favorite (pl. 11, B).
5. Hui Ch'ung, early Sung priest (pl. 11, C).
6. Wang Fu, 1362-1416 (pl. 12, A).
7. Chao Yung, b. 1289, son of Chao Meng-fu (pl. 12, B).
8. Li Ch'eng, ca. 940-990 (probable dates).
9. Chao Ta-nien, ca. 1080-1100 (flourished) (pl. 13, B).

Numbers 2, 3, and 8 are now missing, the compositions following Wang Meng, Wu Chen, and Li Ch'eng. This is particularly unfortunate as there is a good deal of original evidence to tell us how these three talents painted, and comparison would clearly show us how closely Shen Chou followed his models. We can assume however, that the Ming painter only imitated them in general intent and in a manner consistent with paintings already examined. Certainly we would never think of the remaining six leaves as having been painted by six different artists or even, unless we had been told, in six different styles. The consistent expression of one artist, Shen Chou, shines through them all.

In the small dimensions, the delicacy of the brushwork, and the insistence on striving directly for the spirit of declared old masters these paintings are completely consistent with the majority of the works we have already examined. What is generally new is a direct topical interest, not entirely lacking before, but here in

²⁶ Our knowledge of the nine leaves and the facts about their imitation of the old masters goes back to Kao Shih-ch'i's recording of 1693 (see Catalogue). As he was a well-known critic and had more material at his disposal than we, it seems wise to accept his word.

this intimate little book made exceptionally clear. Each of the scenes might well be a recording from Shen Chou's own life. One of the reasons why they appeal so directly is that we can be sure the artist experienced what he is painting. That at least one leaf is connected with the brother he loved so well affirms their closeness to his way of life. These recordings are from the heart.

The first is a portrait of a scholar, certainly Shen Chou's idea of himself (pl. 11, A). Seated on the floor of a simple pavilion covered only by a grass roof, unimprisoned by walls, the air within is the same as the air without. There is no stool, no table. Only the furniture of the scholar is necessary: a sheaf of books, a scroll of painting, and the stringed instrument, the *ch'in*, for music. Beyond this are the real facts that bring strength to a man: The firm plateau of earth (of which the pavilion platform is a mere echo), the yielding quality of swaying grasses, the enduring stand of rocks, the gentle-stalked bamboo with its crisp sharp leaves, tough in season and out, eternally green. Finally, the staunch pines that changelessly live forever and always in China, stand as the goal for and symbol of the great and noble man.²⁷

The next extant picture is number 4 (pl. 11, B) and represents several *mou* (acres) of fields and a village raised on a plateau overlooking the source of its strength, the water and the growing rice. This is in imitation of Chao Po-chü, who was famous for his paintings in a tight, miniature green-and-gold manner—a style that later received the label of Northern School. The especially fine detail of this painting could be said to be consistent with that style. Perhaps there is, too, one other "Northern School" element. There is too much green in the trees to be autumn and too many bare branches to be summer. There is no suggestion of atmosphere in the bare sky. There is no real day, no hour. Rather the scene unfolds in the broad high noon of no time as we know it.

Ideally, this picture is the counterpart of the life of the scholar. Always and from the most ancient times the Confucians have maintained the almost sacred character of life on the soil. It could, of course, be thought of as the economic pillar of the state, but more than that, the farmer's life rested too close to what was actually real to be genuinely supplanted by any other basic form of economic activity: the earth, growing things, the seasons, the machinery of the universe. The world in which Shen Chou was able to be the scholar-philosopher was supported by such scenes as this; and in answer to modern prejudices of equalitarianism, it must be stated that these little men looked to the scholar for guidance and direction as to the purposes of their small laboring existence and, too, that the scholar was himself a very little man before the limitless power of the cosmos.

This scene was known intimately to Shen Chou and he records it with all the delicate love of this close acquaintance. Some laborers are heading out to the fields, their implements over their shoulders. One has already reached the thick dike that banks the land against the river. Their obvious destination is the machine for irrigation at the right of the picture. Here, treading with their feet as they

²⁷ Particularly in regard to landscape (Kuo Hsi, 48, p. 37).

hold onto the bamboo frame, they will lift the water by a kind of paddle wheel from the lower level of the river water to the higher level of the rice fields.²⁸ A woman and two children are bringing some buckets of food. At the left a man is likewise carrying buckets on his shoulder pole. An inevitable part of a village, a dog, is inserted, and a man stands with a staff,²⁹ the mark of age and hence freedom from labor. A banner flies over the roof of one building which marks it as a wine shop. The village is protected by a wall of stamped earth.

The whole is marked by the fine strokes of its detail and the careful, isolated placing of objects, tree and house and rock. This remarkable clarity and restraint is the means employed by the artist to give us that sense of calm and peace with which the scholar viewed the life on the land about him.

Shen Chou's imitation of the obscure early Sung artist, Hui Ch'ung (pl. 11, C), is a mountain scene which tells of the wandering of free souls, in the person of the aging scholar with his staff, through the strength that is in the hills. That life in the mountain is still part of the natural life of man is shown by the village, caught in a narrow defile at the left of the picture, from which a startled dog has run to bark at the presence of the stranger. Once again, the specific scene is stressed.

The sixth in the series imitates Wang Fu (pl. 12, A). This artist, who died in 1416 only a few years before Shen Chou was born, in contrast to the almost mythical Hui Ch'ung, is quite well known to us today. From this picture we can learn that what impressed Shen Chou about Wang Fu was that artist's greater preoccupation with the handling of ink. This can be seen in the variety of brush strokes that are used to delineate land, rock, plateau, bark, leaf, and bridge. But behind the actual laying on of the ink is an order which is unmistakably consistent with the rest of the album. We are struck by the same careful, almost classic, placing of individual elements against the quiet empty paper. This is a scene of loneliness—something of the loneliness that is often found in fourteenth-century painting. The tiny traveler edges his way across the bridge facing a stiff wind which bends the trees against him, their clawed branches reaching down as though to snatch him away. Where in this empty, alien world can one lone separate structure of flesh and bone find any hope? And yet the struggle quietly persists.

The imitation of Chao Meng-fu's son, Chao Yung (pl. 12, B), may well be a specific subject, but if so, it is obscure and certainly is a reflection of a scene which was essential and of an everyday occurrence in the lower Yangtze Valley, the ferryboat crossing. The commentator would add³⁰ (and most certainly it conveyed this feeling to the observer of that day) that it had the flavor of one returning home from the days and duties of the world to retire and transform one's spirit into that of an immortal. Certainly this subject was important to the scholar-painter and

²⁸ The *Shui-ch'ue*. (See *Tz'ü-hai*, 124, szü/2.) A much clearer representation of this instrumentation may be seen in a painting signed T'ang Yin in Tōkyō, reproduced in *Bijutsu shūei* (2, No. 22). See also another Shen Chou album leaf (pl. 17, B).

²⁹ *Chang*, a staff, which, being necessary to help the aged walk, became a symbol for old age and the respect due to advanced years. It was used at least as far back as the classic on ceremony, the *Li-chi*. Consult *Index to Li-chi* (52a, V, 36500).

³⁰ Kao Shih-ch'i in 1693. For reference see Catalogue VII.

is known in an early example by the thirteenth-century Ch'ien Hsüan, where just this idea is depicted in the return of the famous fourth- and fifth-century scholar, T'ao Ch'ien (Yüan-ming).³¹

The final scene (pl. 13, B), we have seen Shen Chou painting before (pl. 7, A), *Gathering Waterchestnuts*. In discussing the picture in the Ueno collection, we pointed out the genre quality of this subject. As part of Shen Chou's local world it fits neatly into the pattern of this album. This is in imitation of the great painter of the end of the eleventh century, Chao Ling-jang (Ta-nien) whom Tung Ch'i-ch'ang considered a worthy Sung heir to the mantle of his idol, Wang Wei of the T'ang dynasty. Chao Ta-nien was noted for his delicate lyric recording of river and lake. As Mi Fei remarked of one of his paintings: "The bamboo fence, the rush hut, the mist-enveloped grove, distant hills and streams—a thousand *li* in a foot of space—sedge and bulrush, egret and gull—a perfect river scene painted with loving skill." (103, vol. 2, p. 41.)

How close Shen Chou came to Chao Ta-nien can be seen by comparing his waterchestnut scene with part of a scroll, *Summer Mist along the Lake Shore*, now in Boston (pl. 13, A; 110a). With the signature and seals of the artist, it is dated 1100. The scroll has many seals, and comments from the Ming dynasty, including a Yung-lo (1403-25) imperial seal, and surely fulfills the Ming idea of this famous painter. Most interesting is that Chao Ta-nien's painting as well as Shen Chou's painting went through the hands of Tung Ch'i-Ch'ang. His comments are on both.

We could say of Shen Chou's painting as well as of that by his predecessor that it is "a perfect river scene painted with loving skill." The horizontal washes that define the land, the mist that grows on far shores, here even the triangular definition of promontories, contribute in each to the still dreamy mood of late summer on the river.

But at the risk of a kind of endless refrain, let us state again that in this picture Shen Chou is more important than the model. In detail one could point to his trees drawn as they are with firm, dry, delicate lines, as contrasted with the parade of silhouette masses that are the trunks on the Chao Ling-jang. The wonderful placing in the massing of spots of foliage—both tree leaves and waterchestnut plants—adds a strange fantasy of design to the surface, this pattern seeming to exist completely independent of anything necessary to the world of space and time. On the whole, it is the very lack of an exacting sense of spacial relationships, or anything like solid objects, that is the essence of this amazing poem. The *lu* grass on the far bank seems, with its sharp strong leaves, to leap at one. The figures caught against the light of the sky-reflecting water are mere touches of moist ink about to dissolve. Here is the magic unsubstantiality of the twilight hour, when

the sun sinks and over the green hills
rise the smokes of evening.³²

³¹ A scroll in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Recently exhibited in Venice, Cleveland, and Toronto. (127, No. 783; 50, No. 25; and 122, No. 12.)

³² From Tu Ch'ung's poem on the painting. See Catalogue.

These six paintings are paintings of the local scene. They express very clearly certain phases of the life Shen Chou knew, of the life in which Shen Chou believed. They can be said to be copies of the old masters as far as Shen Chou clearly knew very well what these great talents had said. Concentrating on the essential spirit of their art, he was able to grasp this. It might involve certain borrowings of composition or ideas in the handling of ink, at least in so far as Shen Chou's remarkable mind and hand cared to use them. But by the time ink flowed from Shen Chou's brush, his experience of the past was so absorbed and crystallized into his own experience that the result was essentially Shen Chou.

The composition of the final album leaf is reminiscent of the pattern of promontory, water, and a far mountain that we have found a prevailing characteristic of the first known works of Shen Chou. There appears, however, for the first time, another compositional device. In sheets 1, 4, 6, and 7 the painter has placed his scene merely as a kind of platform across the front of the painting. Distance or background is given alone by the plain empty surface of the paper. It is this compositional device that permits a positive and sure delineation of what the artist had to say. Nothing need be concealed in soft vague distances. This positiveness, this sureness, brings us clearly into a phase of pictorial maturity.

III. FESTIVAL

The date 1471 is a somewhat arbitrary one, yet it is convenient as a demarcation between Shen Chou's early works and a period of individual maturity. It is in the decades of the seventies and eighties that a distinct Shen Chou manner emerges, that the old masters, hardly forgotten, are nevertheless kept in the background. The year 1471 is symbolic of a kind of physical independence, because this is the year when Shen Chou moved to his own home, a compound or "hut" known as the Bamboo Dwelling. This move, which actually seems to have been only a local one and possibly within his own family estates,³³ was nevertheless heralded in a series of poems written by his close friends. The Bamboo Dwelling is Shen Chou's "retreat." Here, surrounded by the enduring green of bamboo, beside the quiet strength of water, and with a view to the mountains, the scholar could live in harmony with the world he loved (pls. 22, 33, B). So, too, his friends might come and visit with him. In the poems he is likened, appropriately, to famous T'ang scholars who lived thus: Tu Fu, who had a "grass hut" outside of Chengtu in Szechuan, and Wang Wei in his country retreat, Wang-ch'uan, in Shensi.³⁴ Certainly, one could apply to Shen Chou the famous line that Su Tung-p'o wrote about Wang Wei: "In his poems are paintings, and in his painting is poetry." (33, p. 81.)

Shen Chou's uncle, Shen Chen-chi, brought him a poem in honor of this occasion. Shen Chou and a number of his friends then wrote verse about the Bamboo Dwelling following the form of Shen Chen-chi's lines, a common practice for which the technical term was *ho*.³⁵ Among these friends was Liu Chüeh, with whom Shen Chou was so intimate at this time, and also his younger friend, Wu K'uan, who was to become such an important figure of state during the years to come and with whom Shen Chou kept a continuing and lasting friendship.

Now, however, with Shen Chou at the age of 45 we appear to stand on the threshold of a new era. Liu Chüeh would die in the following year. The exact date of Shen Chou's father's death is uncertain, but he was gone surely by the late seventies when Wu K'uan would write his tomb inscription.³⁶ Tu Tung-yüan died in 1474. One of the deepest felt losses, however, was the death of his younger and only brother, Shen Chao (Chi-nan) in 1472.³⁷ On one occasion Shen Chou wrote,

³³ The exact location of his Bamboo Dwelling is not clear. According to one account he left the *li*, or local community, and set up his house outside, but it still seems to have been related to Hsiang-ch'eng, and this local district is east of the city of Suchou. (*Shih-wen chi*, 93, 10/2a.)

³⁴ *Shih-wen chi* (93, 10/4b-6b). Reference to such is, of course, fairly standard procedure. On a fan for Shen Chou's father and uncle, Liu Chüeh wrote the line: "After the snow Hsi-chuang (West Village) is like Wang-ch'uan." (*Ibid.*, 10/22a.) Hsi-chuang is clearly a retreat.

³⁵ For something of the nature of this kind of writing, see Lin Yu-t'ang, 56, p. 12.

³⁶ Kokka (84). This is discussed below, p. 51 ff.

³⁷ This date seems established from a note and poem in *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*.

"In my life brothers are few; there is only Chao and Chou."³⁸ Now Chao was gone. But as several poems continue to remind us, Chou often thought of Chao and sometimes they were together in his dreams.³⁹

Since it carries a seal with the name Bamboo Dwelling on it, a painting that has at least some relation to this independent existence is a scroll in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts brushed in celebration of a leading feast day on the lunar calendar of China, the midautumn festival of the fifteenth day of the eighth month (pl. 14, A).

An examination of this painting will show that one of the principle characters on the scene is a bird, and that it is clearly identifiable as a crane. Hence, it is well to preface our description of the festival by some understanding of the meaning of this bird. The staunch figure is part of a very long tradition in China. Coming from the world of nature, it assumed, particularly in Taoist lore, a special significance as a kind of symbol of immortality. It was the aerial courser for the immortals, and was thought to reach a fabulous age. Borne on its back, one might be carried to the lands where no men die. Humans repeatedly changed into its shape, and in turn the cranes often showed a special interest in the affairs of men (63, pp. 56-57).

In nature, it is the great Manchurian crane standing almost four feet high which, at least today, breeds in a very limited region of the far north just across the eastern border of Manchuria in Siberia along the swampy headwaters of the Sungatch (a stream that empties out of Lake Khanka and flows into the Ussuri). Every year in October it wings its way south at least as far as the lower Yangtze Valley and again in March and April starts the long flight to the north.⁴⁰ Hence, it was foreign to West China, and it was the occasion of a famous painting when six cranes were brought to Chengtu in the tenth century as tribute from the east.⁴¹

³⁸ *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *wu yen p'ai*/2b. There is a biographical reference from reliable sources (Wang Ao and Wen Cheng-ming) which says that Shen Chou's father had three sons. Presumably, then, the third son was by a different wife. (*Shih-wen chi*, 93, 10/1a.)

³⁹ See particularly *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 1/15a-b and 3/4a.

⁴⁰ I am indebted for this information to Mr. J. C. Greenway, Jr., of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University. There is also a small breeding ground in Japan on the northern island of Hokkaido. The bird is apparently much less numerous today than formerly, and doubtless it would have been a common sight for Shen Chou and his friends. Its closest North American counterpart is the rare whooping crane, a very similar bird. Like his North American cousin, the Manchurian crane does not travel in large flocks, but sometimes alone, and sometimes in family groups. This helps account for its being usually represented singly or in pairs. When a "flock" is referred to in Shen Chou's poetry, for example, it probably means a small group, possibly as few as two or three.

Although not reaching the fabulous age of Chinese legend, it is a long-lived bird. Because of the hazards of wildlife, the Manchurian crane has an average life expectancy of only around three years, but in captivity, under conditions where it would have been most carefully observed by the Chinese, it might well last for 25 or 30 years.

⁴¹ See 49, p. 94. Although there may be no specific connection, the fact that the term *wu ch'in* (Five Birds) was already established as the title for a method of gaining a long and sick-free life bears a very close relation in meaning to what Li Fang must have wished. For the five guests in his gardens must have been looked on in the light of similar auspicious blessings. See below, in Catalogue, I, Shen Chou's poem on the Abe painting of 1464 and note on the Five Birds.

It is worth adding that one of the earliest representations of cranes was a famous wall painting done by the tenth-century Chengtu painter Huang Ch'üan. This consisted of six birds, inspired by a tribute gift of cranes

Clearly, in Shen Chou's part of the world, its arrival would have been part of the autumn season.

With his love of the bizarre, his love of what he saw around him and yet an insistence on reaching beyond the mere illusory appearance of fact, Shen Chou, too, does homage to the crane. Perhaps, as Shen Chou was a particular student of the *Tso-chuan*,⁴² he took a certain cue from the ancient Prince of Wei of the seventh century B. C., I-kung, who so loved the crane that he carried one with him in his chariot.⁴³ Thus in an album leaf by the Ming painter in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City (pl. 14, B), the scholar, who is Shen Chou's idea of himself, carries a crane in his boat.

An old painting that had something of a reputation and was apparently often copied, bore the title of "Five Guests." The original was done by an unknown painter for the tenth-century figure of state and prime minister under Sung T'ai Tsung, Li Fang (Wen-cheng). A man noted for the gardens and retreats on his estate, he kept five birds whom he called his guests, and he had their portraits painted. One of these was a crane whom he called "the immortal guest" (see footnote 41). Shen Chou certainly knew of this tradition, possibly through Kuo Jo-hsü's famous *T'u-hua chien-wen chih*. At any rate, the immortal bird is a guest at Shen Chou's midautumn festival.

One of the most famous pieces of Chinese literature is the *fu* or prose poem of the "Red Cliff" by the great Sung poet Su Tung-p'o. Shen Chou alludes to this in the long poem that follows the painting he did for Wu K'uan in 1479.⁴⁴ It is primarily in this context a reference to his friend's literary excellence, but the allusion is to the crane (or cranes) that appears in the poem. The actual scene is illustrated in an early Ming-dynasty painting in a Kyōto temple, Shōkokuji, by Ch'üan-shih (Wen-cheng) (120, pl. 227; 94, vol. 10; 121, vol. 10). This obscure painter flourished about 1380. Identified by the inscription, it is followed by two seals of the artist and reads simply, "Crossing the river at the Red Cliff" (*Tōsō*, 120, pl. 227). In the story the crane and the immortals are one. In the middle of the night, drifting in his boat by the Red Cliff, a site near Hankow famous for a naval battle in the Three Kingdoms period and near which Su was then living, he saw a lone crane flying out of the east. It passed over the boat and vanished into the west. Later, two Taoist priests, dressed in the feathers of immortals, appeared to him as he lay in bed and asked him how he enjoyed the night under the Red Cliff. Then he understood the meaning of the crane.⁴⁵

from the state of Huai-Nan presented in 944, for they were unknown naturally in Chengtu. These cranes apparently were much admired and copied, and the subject received wide circulation. This painting of cranes was thought superior to the work of his T'ang predecessor in the art, Hsieh Chi, about whom Tu Fu had written a poem (49, pp. 34 and 75).

A Japanese publication reproduces a scroll bearing the signature of Hui Tsung which is most surely a handing down of this traditional subject (95, 6/15-17). One of them is represented in the characteristic pose of crying at the heavens (77, pp. 130-134).

⁴² According to Chu Yün-ming. (Quoted in *Shih-wen chi*, 93, 10/8/a-b.)

⁴³ *Tso-chuan*, second year of Min Kung. Wan-yu wen-k'u edition, I, p. 145.

⁴⁴ Kokka (84), and below under this painting.

⁴⁵ Su Tung-p'o, 109, cheng chi, 19/9b; Lin Yu-t'ang, 56, p. 231. The author interprets the passage as meaning "two cranes," although literally there is no mention of number, only "lone crane." "Two" fits neatly with the two Taoists, but seems to me unnecessary. The Ming painter has only one crane.

This painting is only one of a pair done by Ch'üan-shih and owned by the same temple. The second is that of a lean standing bird crying at the moon (*Tōsō*, 120, pl. 228). It bears the inscription, "In the ninth pool of the marsh crying at the moon." In origin this goes back to the Book of Poetry:

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh
And her voice is heard in the wilds.

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh
And her voice is heard in the sky.⁴⁶

So two stanzas begin, but they hold no specific mention of the moon. This, then, is a later interpolation which fits approximately with Shen Chou's rendering of the crane beneath an autumn moon.

As a symbol in Ming times the crane appears on blue and white porcelains as early as the fourteenth century, sometimes wading in ponds among lotus pads, sometimes soaring overhead (75, p. 41). Again, in its full symbolic context, it is the appropriate companion for Taoist sages. Thus, the leading Taoist priest of his time, again in the fourteenth century, Wu Ch'üan-chieh, is so pictured in two of a series of portraits. This can be seen in a copy in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (118). One portrait, number 5, dates back to an original by Chao Meng-fu. On this are painted not only the immortal crane but two other symbols of endurance, a mountainlike rock and a pine. Portrait number 8 was supposed to represent the sage on Mount Lu beside the famous waterfall there. Here two cranes are his companions. This it will be remembered is the same Mount Lu that Shen Chou painted in 1467 as a present of enduring strength and long life for his old teacher Ch'en K'uan (Hsing-an).

From these few examples the meaning of the immortal guest becomes increasingly clear, and he is particularly important as a companion for scholars living in "retirement" and seeking knowledge and strength beyond that found among ordinary affairs of man. The crane is to be seen in Shen Chou paintings (pls. 14, A, B, 28),⁴⁷ but Shen Chou was hardly the only painter who lived close to the crane. Wang Meng, one of whose names carried with it appropriate overtones as the "Woodgatherer of Yellow Crane Mountain," puts two cranes in the retreat he painted, now in the Freer Gallery of Art (pl. 3). One of these is crying at the sky. Wen Cheng-ming, Shen Chou's pupil, similarly shows a crane in an album leaf in the Saitō collection (pl. 14, C; 116, pl. 24, 6).

The crane often occurs in Shen Chou's poetry, and as such it stands as that combination of nature and tradition so characteristic of this painter. Often he speaks of seeing the crane or a flock of cranes about or near him, but of course the connotations pass far beyond the immediate scene. To select a few of many lines:

In the empty autumn the returning cranes;
The clouds of Ch'u are high.

⁴⁶ Legge, 52, vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 296; Book III, Ode 10, *Hao ming*.

⁴⁷ There are other mentions or reproductions that associate Shen Chou with painting the crane. See *Ta-kuan Lu* (110, 20/9), where there is a painting recorded imitating Ma Yüan; a poor reproduction, but perhaps a good painting, of *Watching Cranes from the Shade of the Tung Tree* is part of an album in imitation of masters of Sung and Yüan (27a). Again, a poor reproduction of what may be a good painting (dated 1482) is an album of which one leaf shows a crane listening to the playing of the *ch'in*, in imitation of Li T'ang (early 12th) (87a).

Fishing at my door the yellow crane alights.
 Cliff and temple, a road of red leaves,
 The yellow crane in his home of white clouds.
 Already has the old man changed to a Liao-tung crane.

Finally, for a departing friend, the flight of the cranes

Like you on a smooth journey enters the fresh clouds.⁴⁸

The Boston painting has been given several different English titles. To be accurately descriptive, we had perhaps best call it, "Watching the Mid-Autumn Moon." This full moon marks the bright nadir of the harvest time, with the joy that comes from fruition and yet haunted in its very splendor by the shadow of the season of cold, of sleep, and of death.

The real impact of the painting of this theme cannot be understood unless it is viewed against the background of ages of tradition which in China and to her poets has always spelled out a very special and deep mystery and sadness. Arthur Waley has written beautifully of this in describing a poem "To The Moon of Mid-Autumn" by the early ninth-century poet Po Chü-i:

The Chinese have always regarded certain forms of beauty, particularly the beauty of music and that of moonlight, as bound up with sorrow. To those who are sad already moonlight, despite its loveliness, brings an almost intolerable weight of grief. Po in his poem imagines the effect of this mid-autumn moon, casting its "beams of inscrutable purity" to every corner of the world, upon the frontier-guardsmen far away in the west, upon friends newly parted, upon a Palace favorite in whom the Emperor has lost interest, returning to her rooms at night (instead of at dawn), upon some high officer taken prisoner by the Tibetans and growing old in captivity; and he wonders whether the "jade hare" and "silver toad," denizens of the moon, know that the light they pour down upon the world brings unendurable sorrow to the hearts of all these people. (130, pp. 121-122.)

Even the early legends confirm this view, for the pale shadow of the bright sun is the embodiment of the spirit of *yin*, of winter, of darkness and of cold, the female spirit that, interacting with the male *yang* principle, represents the life of the universe. So, too, we must add strange mysteries, for it was here that a hare was known to be pounding out the elixir of life. During the reign of the almost legendary Emperor Yao, Ch'ang-o, the consort of the Divine Archer, I, had seized such an elixir, fled to the moon, and was later turned into a toad.⁴⁹

Legend is not specifically mentioned by Shen Chou, but legend was implicit, for the long path of Chinese tradition was such that those living in the Ming dynasty must inevitably know it, and their whole view would be shaped accordingly. Most particularly, the scholars would know, and their feelings about the moon would have the depth that such centuries can give. It is not just any moon, or even any harvest moon. It is the midautumn moon of China, the moon of China's thousands of years. So Shen Chou and his friends, as one of the poems tells us, "recite Li Po's

⁴⁸ *Shih-t'ien chi* (91), in order quoted: *ch'i yen chüeh*, 2b, line 5; *ch'i yen lü*, 2/14b, line 7; *wu yen lü*, 2/3a, line 12; *ch'i yen chüeh*, 5a, line 1; and 4a, line 5. The last is a reference, as well, to official advancement.

⁴⁹ Ch'ang-o, or Heng-o. The legend was clearly formed and recorded by Han times at any rate. (*Huai-nan tzü* 39, *Lan-ming* section, *chüan* 6, at the very end of the chapter.) The *Hou Han shu* (34, 20/4a), T'ien-wen chih commentary adds the bit about becoming a toad. For an English summary see 133, pp. 320, 418.

'Question to the Moon' " and the fifteenth century is joined with the eighth century. Li Po's poem turns back to legend and to other poets who went before him. So he speaks of the hare eternally concocting the mysterious elixir, a kind of never ending process where "autumn is followed again by spring;" or next "who can be a neighbor of Ch'ang-o in her lonely tower?" The life of man is a passing thing like flowing waters, and from the moon there is no answer, only bright gold in the wine cup.⁵⁰

The painting is that of friends gathering with Shen Chou to hold a feast on the eve of this festival (pl. 14, A). Judging by the pairs of chopsticks the table is set for four. Three are seated, one is serving, and a servant boy stands to the left. Just outside, the crane stands on one leg, its head tucked back in its feathers in a pose of sleep or rest.

In a poem which must have been written relatively early, since it speaks of Shen Chou's father and uncle and Liu Chüeh and of Shen Chou attending them, Shen Chou describes a scholar's gathering. It becomes clear that certain facts went with such a meeting to make it what it was: a temple "in the wilds"; they face a group of cranes; there is wine and literary discussion; their horses by some willows; a terrace over a pool from which they watch the clouds; and when it is over, Shen Chou must help his well-wined elders back home.⁵¹

Much of this could be transferred to explain the Boston scene (pl. 14, A). One detail, however, is far different. Way at the left, a pale disk in the ink-washed glow of the midmonth night, is the full moon, or moon on the very edge of fullness, since from the poetry we know that these friends, wishing to be ahead of the rest of the world, have gathered on the fourteenth, thus to catch the season in true virgin splendor untainted by the common enjoyment of other men.

When young we heedlessly watch the mid-autumn moon
 Seeing this time as all other time.
 With the coming of age respect has grown
 And we do not look lightly
 Every time we raise the deep cup to celebrate the feast.
 How many mid-autumns can an old man have?
 He knows this passing light cannot be held.
 Time changes men; it does not change the moon.
 Old moon and young men are not for meeting.⁵²

 How dull is youth; it knows not this.
 Every year it sees the moon and every year is glad.
 But old men have eyes and see this same return
 And we, we are full of memory . . .

⁵⁰ *Poems of Li Po*, Chinese text, Szü-pu pei-yao edition, 20/12. This is the same edition used by Waley in his account of Li Po's life and poetry (130).

⁵¹ *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 2/15b; and *Shih-wen chi*, 93, 5/3a.

⁵² The expression here, *feng ma niu*, is a reference to the "breeding season of horses and mules." It originated in the *Tso Chuan* (fourth year of Duke Hsi). Legge translates, "Your lordship's place is by the northern sea, and mine is by the southern; so remote are our boundaries that our cattle and horses, in the heat of their excitement, cannot affect one another." (52, vol. 5, pt. I, p. 140.)

This evening, the fourteenth, is already bright.
 Seven guests enjoy the moon
 And strive to be first to see the freshness of the world.
 The shelter is empty; clothes are thin;
 And we fear the dew-filled air.
 But we sit firm under the wide eaves—
 And still the moon is clear.
 The east wind presses the clouds and stirs light waves,
 Suddenly cleaning their dregs from the sky.

 But let the floating clouds be jealous of us;
 There is wine in the jug
 And joy among ourselves.
 Shu-an is my old friend;
 There is an order to the drinking;
 There is no clamor among guests.
 We recite Li Po's "Question to the Moon."
 And feel our white hairs get the better of youth.
 Yet youth and white hairs are not one
 And so, draw in the wave of wine and drink the moon.

 Shu-an and I are sixty;
 And ask again of mid-autumn?
 Forty more.

So great was Shen Chou's measure of enjoyment on this occasion that there is a second poem. Sandwiched between these is one by the famous Ming poet and calligrapher, one of the "Four Talents of Suchou," Chu Yün-ming. Shen Chou's two poems are both preceded by a seal, Yu-chu chü, *The Bamboo Dwelling*. Given the assumed relationship between poems and painting we can be sure that this should be dated at least after 1471 when he began to live at this place. On the other hand, Chu Yün-ming was not born until 1460 (31, No. 487), and logically we must give him time to grow up in order to write the poem. We might guess with reasonable accuracy that painting and poetry were brushed in the eighties, when Chu Yün-ming was in his twenties and Shen Chou was about 60. Shen Chou's sixtieth birthday came in 1486, and hence all this fits neatly with the final lines of the poem quoted above which speaks of Shen Chou and his friend, Shu-an, being 60—which doubtless means "sixty-ish"—hoping for 40 more midautumns to complete an even hundred. This would place him in the maturity of a firm, strong individual style as a painter, still vigorous, enjoying the world and his friends, yet approaching, like the autumn season, the short late days of life. Many of his old friends would have died. He would know of the transiency of the world.

A careful study of the scroll and the poem colophons that follow it shows that they present certain ambiguities. This has been discussed elsewhere in full detail,⁵³ but at least a summary is necessary. Not only are there two Shen Chou poems to this painting, but a view into literary sources going back as far as 1615 shows that Shen Chou's long poem was then known in a slightly different version and done

⁵³ Tseng and Edwards (123). A small section of this article, the section dealing with an analysis of formal elements, is repeated below.

for a different friend, P'u Ju-cheng. From 1660 there is record of a painting which has the P'u Ju-cheng poem attached to it. There are thus two poems and two paintings. But the Boston scroll adds yet another poem, and this is significantly followed by the explanation: "Shen Chou again did this. You can thus see the joy of the thing. But the poem is hardly worth preserving."

A possible path out of the difficulties lies in the hypothesis that the doing "again" refers not just to a poem, but to a whole painting. Certainly there is a direct tie between the Boston painting and the second poem, which refers to five guests:

We five are all
White-haired.

We see four pairs of chopsticks on the table; there are four men and a servant in the hut; and the "immortal guest" sits on the platform before the open building. Since the long poem talks of "seven guests" and since it is one of the persistent facts about Shen Chou's art that poetry and painting were brushed in consistent harmony, it seems only right to consider the second or shorter poem as that which really belongs to the Boston painting. The long poem could then be thought as a rewriting to add to the "rewritten" painting, the name changed to fit the recipient, Shu-an. Not all the lines are the same, a sign that it was rewritten from fallible memory.

Such an explanation is not just a display of logical gymnastics, for Shen Chou, particularly at this period, was a logical painter, and apparent inconsistencies must be ironed out before authenticity can be assured. That this was not the only occasion when Shen Chou did "again" a painting is shown in the colophons of a painting in Indianapolis (pl. 20, C) which tell that it was done two years after the original version.

However much one must insist on specifics (such as the five guests) when they are available, one must realize that an event as full of meaning as the midautumn festival is not merely to be contained in the limits of definable detail. In a wider sense the painting should be construed as a kind of convention, a shorthand means of expression which is clearly based on a datable experience. But the experience has been so sifted through the mind of the artist as to emerge with essential elements, not every literal fact. To some extent the lives of these people were lived according to a convention. They have gathered in a "rustic hut." This aristocratic assumption of the guise of the farmer who lived in a crude hut and became one with the soil was in a literal sense not strictly true. It might be said, however, that the cultivation of simplicity had a very definite meaning, a convention which was a constant reminder of the kind of life that was the basis of Confucian society. But beyond this, it was a reminder of the futility of wealth and power and the compelling necessity to reach farther than the transiency of physical facts and to know something of the eternal spirit of the universe.

It might be said similarly that the conventions in this picture are sufficient to convey the experience. Shen Chou out of politeness belittles the skill of his art.

While we would contradict him and wish to preserve the poem, we would perhaps admit that if we are looking for an obvious expression in the sense of emotional joy—and certainly there was joy—we are given no direct clue in the painting. It is a cold picture. The brushwork is so strong, the color areas so clear, the selection of objects so sure that meaning is conveyed not as an emotional impact, but rather as the result of the logical rational construction of a series of parts, and in the case of the crane by a more or less direct symbol.

The essentials are present. The hut is "rustic" enough to be open to whatever weather the night may bring. It is one of the characteristic types that still is generally used in South China: frame supports of wood filled in with mud plaster which is laid on a matting woven of bamboo withes. The roof is a wood frame on which simple slate-colored tiles are loosely laid, and must by the nature of this simplicity be constantly relaid to prevent leaks as they become pushed out of place by the winds or wandering squirrels or rats. Behind is still more rusticity in the form of a house with a grass roof, and this is protected by a compound wall of stamped earth with its own grass roof to prevent disintegration from the rain. A banana tree is the object farthest from our view. There is no filling in of this farmer's compound behind the sturdy screen of foreground trees. This may be the artist's convention for conveying the darkness of the night, but it certainly confirms the shorthand symbolic character of the painting.

There is also water, but this is not in any way delineated. We know of its existence because of the bank. The wash that uniformly covers the area of water and sky is perhaps calculated to convey something of the dull glow of a full-moon night. At any rate, the moon is there. Yet there is no feeling of cloud or wind. There is absolutely no drama. Yet from the poetry we learn that the scene was one filled with deep emotional content. The restraint is the restraint of understatement. We are left in admiration of the tremendous certainty of the artist. No line could be said to falter. No fact is incorrectly recorded. We can conclude that he and those of his contemporaries who saw this knew the complete meaning of the event. They need only be reminded in terms of the essential facts to know what Shen Chou was saying.

An analysis of the formal elements shows us the way this cool strong painting has been built. Most apparent is the platform on which the scene is staged. This covers over half the scroll and is just that—the platform. Following the long-accepted Chinese tradition of using space as a positive element, the lesser half of the painting is the nondescript gray wash of night that blankets water and sky. The transition from the solid objects of the world to the undefined mystery of night is made gradual by the inclusion of a fringe of foliage that grows at the bottom edge of the painting and along the river bank. But the real element that ties the end to the beginning is the pale disk of the moon which, tiny as it is, is yet the whole center, purpose, and focus of the painting.

The unshakable firmness of Shen Chou's art is established compositionally by a series of vertical accents to be seen in fence and architecture, wall and earth platform. It is also seen in the nature of the dry, strong brush strokes, sometimes

in an area which is flat and tight like a closely woven curtain, as in the opening passage of tree foliage, sometimes in the actual defining of rounded form as in the *ts'un* that create the contours of the rock and the firm trunks of the wiry trees.

Against this solid anchorage the whole direction of the painting moves in a series of diagonals, marked accents, that begin with the leaning trees, are repeated in the diagonal placing of the rustic feast hut, continued in the angles of the bank, and finally echoed in the leaning trees that border the water and give us the final "pointers" toward the moon. These main diagonals are crossed by minor diagonals: rock, roof, and compound wall, which also bring us to the moon-leaning trees. Shen Chou's characteristic of spotting the surface with areas of black wash is here seen in the tree foliage. This also helps direct our attention to the jumping-off place of the trees that hug the water's edge. Despite all the three-dimensional solidity, there is still a fanciful playing with natural vision, for what are these trees by the water? Are they near or far, are they really trees at all, or merely bushes? Yet they have solid trunks and some of the tops droop like lofty willows. Shen Chou is leaning on his own inventiveness, on inward imagination.

It is impossible, however, to overestimate the rational organization and tremendous clarity of the painting. Anything extraneous is eliminated. Only the essential elements are present. This bold concentration of so much into such a small space suggests, too, the very nature of any feast day which is by concentration in space and time to highlight for our understanding some truth that otherwise continually runs unnoticed through the humdrum existence of everyday life.

IV. FISHERMEN

Similarly reflecting the life of the flatlands, low hills and rivers and lakes, the world around Suchou and the lower Yangtze basin, is a river scene entitled *River Village and the Joy of Fishing*, now in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D. C. (pl. 15). This is life on the water as we have seen it in Shen Chou's earlier paintings of *Gathering Waterchestnuts*. But the style, far different from that of those delicate, misty, lyric poems, here emerges with the same solid clarity that we saw in the *Mid-Autumn Moon*. But in the *Joy of Fishing* there is not the single bold concentration on one scene, one night, the meaning of so much of life drawn into the confines of one great festival. This rather is a panorama calculated by the repetition of different tiny scenes to give us a picture of life on river or lake, particularly as lived by the true owners of those waters. In painting this theme the artist has shifted his identity from that of the farmer, as in the Boston scroll, to that of the fisherman.

The rustic hut of the midautumn feast was hardly a recording of the farmer's life; nor is this fishing scene to be considered a mere objective study of the way fish are caught. Although we can be sure that in a kind of shorthand way details of boat and net are exceedingly accurate, the real meaning must be sought in what was behind a scholar-painter like Shen Chou.

This subject was a traditional one. As such, for example, it has nothing in common with nineteenth-century European realism or impressionistic recordings of what went on out-of-doors on a sunny afternoon. The late Ming critic Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang (37, 2/42b) tells us that this is a subject that goes back to famous Sung masters, and Shen Chou has a poem which he added in 1484 as a colophon to a painting of this theme by the early Yüan master Ch'ien Hsüan (93, 2/12a). From the poem certain standard themes are recognizable, motifs that recur in the Freer painting: the autumn season, the still water, the presence of ducks, the wife at home, the fishermen, the sensing of the boatman's song, the simple economics of catching fish and exchanging them for rice and keeping the stomach full, and yet the very precariousness of existence, so that two fishing boats are merely a couple of leaves suspended between heaven and earth.

The great fifteenth-century painter, the older contemporary of Shen Chou and leader of the more academic spirits of the time, Tai Chin, also turned to this theme of the fisherman's life. In the same Freer Gallery one has an excellent opportunity to compare these two artists. Tai Chin is interpreting the same subject that Shen Chou, most surely later, painted. Tai Chin, too, has his fishermen, his outcroppings of rock, the aristocratic picnic (pl. 16, B, C), and even ducks or geese flying away at the end of the scroll.

Of possibly more important interest to Shen Chou than these other traditions was the fact that Wu Chen, the great Yüan dynasty recluse and painter particularly

versed in techniques of ink wash, painted this fishing subject (pls. 5, A, 16, D). Strictly speaking, Wu Chen's scroll, which is also in the Freer Gallery, is slightly different. More in keeping with the life of this recluse who took names with both Taoist and Buddhist connotations, Plum Srāmanera and Plum Taoist,⁵⁴ is his fisherman scroll. It is just that—a fisherman scroll rather than the joys of fishing. It deals with single fishermen, or perhaps the same fisherman represented over and over again. In reality this fisherman is the artist, the philosopher, the sage. A poem accompanies each separate view of the recluse. From their lines we can be assured that the fishing is incidental, enough for sustenance, but that is all.

. . . a simple recluse
just fishes for perch and not for fame.
Just in order to feed himself alone from the lake.

It is likely that Shen Chou knew of this Wu Chen scroll, because on it are the seals and colophon of a friend of his, Chou Ting. The colophon was written when Chou Ting was 77. He was older than Shen Chou. Born in 1401, he died in 1487. This means he saw the scroll in 1477. Chou Ting had some success as a minor official, but he seems to have given this up early and led the life of a scholar. Although his home was in Chia-shan hsien in Chekiang, he spent a good deal of time traveling about, and this may help account for his acquaintance with Shen Chou.⁵⁵ There are several of Shen Chou's poems that relate to Chou Ting. They often tell of trips they took together, and one, curiously enough, is about fishing and contains the line "Fish or no fish, there is always pleasure." (91, ch'i yen chüeh/5a.)

Of particular significance for the study of Shen Chou's art is one of his paintings, now on loan to the John Heron Art Institute in Indianapolis, which has poems by both Shen Chou and Chou Ting (pl. 20, C). This is one more testimony to the friendship between these two scholars, and in the light of the development of Shen Chou's painting relates to what we tentatively call the first mature style of the eighties. As Chou Ting died in 1487, the painting cannot be later than this date. As it has a seal, Yu-chu chü, The Bamboo Dwelling, it is after 1471. The strong, sure brushwork indicates a complete and characteristic control of the ink. The artist is interested in the juxtaposition and arrangement of various ink values, yet the strength of the individual strokes, the thick quality of a rough and stubby brush, are always apparent so that the work is not just a matter of soft washes.

Actually this is a slight picture. But as so often with Shen Chou's painting, the obvious takes on deep significance when properly understood. To this end the poetry and colophons contribute much. They show, too, how closely Chinese painting was bound up with literature, poetry and prose. Beyond this, however, it cannot be said that understanding is just a matter of painting and poetry, for in the poetry or any written piece may be hidden many classical allusions which in themselves are

⁵⁴ Mei-sha-mi and Mei-tao-jen. I am indebted for this and much subsequent information about the scroll, including translations of poetry, to Mr. Archibald Wenley whose unpublished researches on the scroll were made available to me in the Freer Gallery.

⁵⁵ A brief account of Chou Ting may be found in *Jen-ming*, 16, p. 541. His dates are given in *Li-tai ming-jen*, 54, p. 111.

not clear. It is not, then, merely seeing or reading, but understanding. What Shen Chou painted grew out of a total experience, his time, the land around him, the long, deep range of Chinese civilization.

Thus we learn from an understanding of what is written above that this scroll of two scholars under some trees is the portrait of three specific trees, three catalpa trees that were planted near the ancestral shrine of a famous minister of ancient times named Fan, almost surely Fan Chung-yen of the Sung dynasty; that Shen Chou, with his friend Liu Hsien-chih, came here to visit this auspicious spot. Thus when Liu left (perhaps to go back to Liao-yang, his home in the north, for Shen Chou wrote a poem on this occasion ⁵⁶), Shen Chou painted these three catalpa trees as a parting gift. This painting is actually a repeat performance of the same subject, done at the request of Chou Ting. To the poet and artist these trees are something ancient, like the spirit in the temple, the ancestor who planted them.

The poet thinks of the catalpa whose leaves each year fall to the ground and yet from the ground each year arise with the new life of spring. So they have stood and grown through the changes of "a thousand years." With a characteristic twist, Shen Chou has linked to these portraits of stability a scene of parting: Shen Chou and Liu Hsien-chih who together had enjoyed these auspicious objects. Behind the principle theme, and hence in a minor capacity, they stand in a position indicating a diagonal moving away and to the right to an unexpressed, undefined distance. Here then, is something everlasting to give man strength in this short pilgrimage in which nothing lasts and is always a kind of parting until the final voyage into the spaceless realms where wander the immortals.

We can speculate that Shen Chou's friendship with Chou Ting brought him into contact, either visual or verbal, with Wu Chen's *Fishermen*. Wu Chen was a particular idol of Shen Chou, and the painting of Shen Chou's later years is constantly associated with an imitation of this master. But aside from the fact that the scroll was by Wu Chen, what would have particularly appealed to the scholar Shen Chou would have been the truly authentic antiquity of spirit of the Yüan master's work. Wu Chen's colophon tells how he painted the picture. In it he speaks of how he used to enjoy the landscapes of the tenth-century master Kuan T'ung, and how Kuan T'ung in turn got his inspiration from Ching Hao, that great recluse who fled the disorders at the end of the T'ang dynasty, retiring to the purity of the mountains to cultivate a few acres and paint, for "wise men devote themselves to music, calligraphy and painting, thus one by one getting rid of their desires." ⁵⁷ He was a model and source of inspiration for all succeeding hermit scholars. Wu Chen was such a one. Shen Chou, in his own Ming fashion, looked on himself as similarly "worthless" to the world, a mere "field of stones" that none might profitably plow.

What made Wu Chen paint his scroll of *Fishermen* was his seeing Ching Hao's scroll of the same subject. He copied it. Ching Hao was a master of painting in monochrome ink. Particularly was he noted for combining both brushwork and

⁵⁶ *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 3/8b. For Fan Chung-yen see below, p. 43.

⁵⁷ Ching Hao, *Pi-fa chi* (Notes on Brushwork) in *The Spirit of the Brush*, 81, p. 88.

ink: "In his landscape painting, Wu Tao-tzū shows excellent brushwork, but his ink is weak; Hsiang Jung's work shows masterly use of ink, but has no brush. Combining the best qualities of these two masters, I strive to establish a style of my own."⁵⁸

Because we often associate with the name Wu Chen a kind of free-flowing, mysteriously ephemeral quality of ink wash, the somewhat tight archaic performance of the Freer scroll can best be understood against the background of the man Wu Chen was imitating. While there is a very definite sense of moist and flowing ink, the whole is circumscribed within very fixed and definite limits. The fishermen are isolated line and wash drawings, most against the empty paper, each accompanied by a poem of explanation (pls. 5, A, 16, D). They are abstract, shorthand or literary expressions not essentially to be considered in a world of space and atmosphere. Yet they are not completely divorced from the world, and to prove it are substantial renderings of rock and hill and hut. However, the scale of the fishermen is so large in relation to hill and architecture that again the quality of symbol rather than visual actuality comes to the fore. A fisherman could ascend the greatest peak in a few strides, or if he entered a building, one would fear for the delicate roof.

The overall archaistic quality, particularly as it relates to scale, we can assume to come from the original model. Similarly, the general nature of the brushwork—that combination of strength or bones and a feeling for the soft-flowing quality of ink—is also present in the Yüan master's copy. "Ink" might be said to play a particularly important part in the misty distances at the very end of the scroll or in the washes of the foliage of the trees. But "bone" and structure are strong in the careful delimitation of the main group of hills, in boats and figures, and in architecture. With all this weight of tradition we can postulate that the specific touch, the pale delicate quality given the washes, is the particular contribution of Wu Chen.

This rather lengthy account of Ching Hao, Wu Chen, and a friend of Shen Chou, Chou Ting, has been necessary to show the type of influences that affected a painter like Shen Chou, coming as he does toward the end of such a long historical road. That Shen Chou was interested in ink both as a conveyor of structure and as an opportunity to show value and texture may be seen in a painting like the *Mid-Autumn Moon* (pl. 14, A) and the *Catalpa Trees* (pl. 20, C). This sense of structure lying behind ink washes becomes more and more apparent in later paintings, particularly after 1500. Ink is more important, but even so, structure is never eliminated. More and more evident, according to critics, is his dependence on Wu Chen.

I would, at least tentatively, place Shen Chou's *Joy of Fishing* in the eighties when the artist, as we have seen in the Boston scroll, seems clearly to have developed his own strong style. This means that Shen Chou might well have known of the Wu Chen scroll, since Chou Ting knew it in 1477, but it is too early in Shen Chou's

⁵⁸ Kuo Jo-hsü, quoted in *The Spirit of the Brush*, 81, p. 82.

career to find the strong influence of Wu Chen on his painting.⁵⁹ The mere swiftness or sketchiness of a few ink strokes (the nailhead-like lines on the roofs of houses, or the way the brush sweeps around the meadow where the picnic party enjoys its wine) does not constitute the late Shen Chou–Wu Chen manner. Shen Chou adds colors, and the ink definition is in general very strong, black and crisp.

To repeat, Wu Chen's scroll seems important to Shen Chou's scroll as an illustration of the weight of tradition that was behind anything Shen Chou did. He could draw Wu Chen when he wished. Later he would.

Where Wu Chen's scroll is of specific rather than general importance, is in terms of the composition. This was very ancient since it went back to the tenth century. Moreover, its retention is a very clear illustration of the significance of the preservation of the truth through imitation, the sixth of the great sixth-century principles of painting which decreed "that by copying, the ancient models should be perpetuated." (81, p. 51.)

In its simplest terms, the composition can be described as a kind of shallow triangle of land jutting out toward the spectator and filling the center of the scroll with a series of rather symbolic forms of rock and hill. On either side of this stunted landmass, the activities of fishing take place. The composition ends with another and minor area of land.

Finally, without wandering too much farther in this discussion of influence and tradition, it is interesting to recall the painting of this same subject by Tai Chin. That Shen Chou clearly belongs to the milieu in China that embraces the recluse, the hermit, the worthless and unknown and unranked wearer of common clothes,⁶⁰ the tradition of Ching Hao and Wu Chen, or the tradition of Tung Yüan and the monk Chü Jan, or a poet like Li Po⁶¹—all this is clear when his *Joy of Fishing* is placed beside Tai Chin's *Joy of Fishing*. At first glance, Tai Chin's picture (pl. 16, B, C) seems to be extremely free and full of qualities of ink manipulation. However, the flashing strokes, sometimes hammered out in the sharp dashes of nailhead forms, sometimes hacked with great broad axelike sweeps of the brush, sometimes thinned to cracking electric lines of tree branches, tend to be repeated over and over again, and brilliant as is the total effect, there actually results a certain fixed quality which is entirely in keeping with the "academic" reputation

⁵⁹ The style of the Freer Gallery fishing scroll may go on into a period as late as 1492. There is such a painting, a scene of leavetaking, formerly in the collection of Chang Ts'ung-yü in Shanghai. See catalogue of that collection (114).

A true evaluation of this painting, which from the reproduction appears good, is complicated by various accounts of the experience commemorated. This was the departure of an official, Wu Wei-ch'ien, to take a post far up the Yangtze River in the Province of Szechuan, the post of Magistrate of the *fu* of Hsü-chou. Wu Wei-ch'ien (1443-1526) was Wen Cheng-ming's father-in-law, and the famous artist wrote his epitaph. In this he gives the date of the appointment to Szechuan as 1490. (*P'u-i'en chi*, 75a, 30/2b-7b). A colophon by Wen Lin, Wen Cheng-ming's father, follows the Shen Chou painting and gives a date, 1491, for the appointment. The colophon itself was written in 1492. Finally, another painting connected with Wu's new post is in H. C. Weng's collection in New York. This is to commemorate a departure celebration on Tiger Hill and shows 14 friends together there. Here yet other dates are involved: 1488 for the appointment, 1489 for Shen Chou's painting of the picture. A resolving of these apparent contradictions awaits further research. See also a Wu Chen style painting, a fan, dated 1492. *Min shitaika* (65, pl. 30).

⁶⁰ The term *pu-i*, one who has not been given official dress and rank. (See Waley, 131, p. 99.)

⁶¹ A kind of difference which brings Tung Ch'i-ch'ang in the next century to classify men like them in the Southern School of painting, which began, according to Tung, with Wang Wei of the T'ang. (Sirén, 100, p. 132.)

of this leader of the Che School of painting. The calm depth of Shen Chou is in marked contrast to the swift art of Tai Chin.

This calm could also be expressed as a kind of timelessness. There are indications of a time—a few bare trees, geese rising from the waters, and, in the poem, mention of the sinking of the sun. But beyond these is always present a quiet that conveys the sense of passing—the end of the day, the end of the year. All living things, all phenomena of earth and specific human consciousness are ever passing. For here there is nothing to really define the setting. All the facts of the world are against a clear background of white paper which is either water or sky. As the moon scroll added a light gray wash which turned all into night, so here the paper is clear and it is day, perpetually.

One is brought down from this vacancy by their very isolation to the tiny scenes, the actors who live the life of the river. Clarity is at a premium. Just as he will not obscure his painting with romantic, misty distances, so too, in the tiniest of figures Shen Chou will only relate the essentials (pl. 16, A): the blown-up contours of the faces (as in the Boston picture); the single strokes that outline jacket, gown, or trousers; the low sweep of the skiffs hugging the water; and, most of all, the tremendous concentration of the fishermen on the task at hand. Even though these figures are completely dwarfed in the immensity of nature, in their boats, like a few frail leaves suspended between heaven and earth, they have only lost in size, and the strength of their concentration on the still line of a fishing pole creates a kind of psychic unity whereby the life of their being is joined with the strength of water and sky. There is a oneness between the tiniest and humblest of men and the power that runs the universe.

V. ALBUM

Although there are other paintings, an album in Kansas City serves to complete a kind of basic triumvirate, with the Boston and Freer scrolls, of works in American museums from the "period of maturity."

As the album has come down to us there are extant five leaves done by Shen Chou (pls. 14, B, 17, A, 18, A, B, 19, A) and one by his famous follower, Wen Cheng-ming, all now mounted as a handscroll. They are brushed in ink on paper with color added. The colophons—one of which is by Wen Cheng-ming—tell us that what we have is incomplete. Originally there were ten leaves. Shen Chou painted six of these, and as there were four extra sheets, Wen Cheng-ming filled them in with paintings illustrating lines from T'ang poetry. Here we are concerned only with Shen Chou's work.

At first glance the Shen Chou paintings may appear to reveal at least two distinct styles, to be classified "free" and "precise." There is, however, little to suggest that the Shen Chou part of the album is a compilation of different periods. The size of the leaves, the poetry, the calligraphy, the seals, all point to a unity, and on close analysis one realizes that apparent differences are really only variations within a general area of consistent artistic performance.

One can suggest certain details that are like the Freer *Fisherman*—the very deep black quality to the ink (as opposed to the silvery gray in the Boston scroll) to which color has been added, the definition of tiny men and boats and houses—but the closest parallels may be drawn with the scene of the *Mid-Autumn Moon*. The first leaf, portraying the *Gardeners* (pl. 17, A), is the same composition as that of the right half of the Boston scroll. Fence and hut and mud wall in the latter take exactly the same line as the fence in the garden scene—parallel, diagonal, and again parallel to the picture plane. In both there is a stubby, sure brush. Trees are similarly bare, leafed in outline, or leafed in wash. Rocks and tree trunks are similarly defined.

It is also possible to mention an interest at this time in the crane, the guest who rides with the scholar in leaf number three (pl. 14, B) of this album, and also participates in the moon festival. As we will see below, cranes will feature in yet another painting of this period (pl. 28).

In the first leaf of the Kansas City pictures there is an interesting parallel, too, with the portrait, in Indianapolis, of the three *Catalpa Trees* (pl. 20, C). This latter we have seen cannot be later than 1487. In both pictures trees are important in the foreground, while through them and beyond them are seen human figures. These figures are similarly delineated in both pictures, while the ground and its objects are indicated in very light ink fading into the back of the "stage" which becomes the paper itself. This characteristic we will also find in dated paintings of the

seventies and eighties when we discuss Shen Chou's bird and flower subjects. The grove of trees with their trunks receding in two converging lines may be seen as well in the detail of a painting of 1479 (pl. 29, A).

The use of a misty receding middle distance deserves further comment. It is employed here in a scene which is otherwise a kind of positive close-up of local genre, for there is no real far distance. The endless view is cut off by the top of the picture, while the leaves of the album that do deal with broad horizons make no use of misty indecision, so direct and crisp is the brushing of dark ink against white paper.

How, then, explain this apparent contradiction? We are offered a solution in another painting by Shen Chou (pl. 17, B). Although the reproduction is not altogether clear, and much of the fuzzy effect must be attributed to the fact that in the process of reproduction we have been brought a foggy distance from the original, nevertheless, since shadows must be cast by something solid we can guess that the original is close to the style with which we are dealing in the Kansas City album. We look from a raised viewpoint down on a scene of agriculture—in this case two men pumping with their feet a water wheel, while a third in a boat may be thought of as bringing them food. The top of the picture cuts off the upper part of some trees. These are characteristics consistent with the first leaf of our album. Incidentally, the treatment of trees in the lower left, with their inky foliage and white stripes of tree trunk, recalls leaf two of the Kansas City set.

Unfortunately we cannot tell whether it is possible to reconstruct any past connection with our album—in a word, the missing sixth leaf—as with the publication of this scene of watering the fields there is no information about it whatsoever.

Of chief significance for us here, however, is the fact that the scene is an illustration of two lines of a poem by Wang Wei, the great T'ang-dynasty painter and poet. The poem is set in Wang Wei's country retreat—in every way a logical parallel to the kind of gardening scene illustrated in the Kansas City work. But the setting, expressed in the opening lines of the poem and not written here, though clearly assumed, was, as it has been translated, one where

The woods have stored the rain, and slow
comes the smoke.

(113, p. 197.)

Mist, as a result, is not to be viewed according to traditions of Western art history primarily as indicating space and the relation of space to the organization of solid forms. It is a positive objective element necessary for the accurate visual representation of the scene—as important as a fence or a hoe or a water wheel. It is necessary in this scene of Wang Wei. It seems to have been similarly necessary in the garden scene from Kansas City. Considered as an element of objective reality, it then becomes consistent with the kind of forceful positiveness that runs through the whole album.

Three pages, two, four, and five (pls. 18, A, B, 19, A), are in the manner of a direct ink tradition. But following the above analysis, they present not so much a new style as a new aspect of the same style. This freer use of ink is a fitting

change when the less determinate quality of the subject is understood. Nor should we confuse the greater use of ink now with what happens to Shen Chou's style during the later years of his life. At this time he will turn to a concentration in the use of ink, but in imitation of the style of Wu Chen, and the essential fact that differentiates late paintings of a similar type from these album leaves is their softness. The three ink-filled scenes in Kansas City are the antithesis of melting softness. There is a determined, crisp quality to the ink seen in the ragged silhouettes of the far hills, in jagged rocks and crackling branches, and in a predominance of dark values.

All five leaves deal specifically with Shen Chou and his world. Number one is of immediate surroundings: the farmer, agriculture, a symbol of sustenance and simplicity, which was so important for the retired scholar. Three is something of a close-up portrait of Shen Chou himself, traveling home with his crane friend from the land of the immortals (pl. 14, B), perhaps some great and vanished artist like Huang Kung-wang or Shen Chou's friend, Liu Chüeh,⁶² riding here in the very boat, or symbol of it, which Shen Chou had named the "Duck-Weed Balcony."⁶³ And the painting is also poetry:

Carrying a crane and my *ch'in*
homeward bound on the lake
White clouds and red leaves
flying together
My home right in the very
depths of mountains
The sound of reading within bamboo,
a tiny couch and humble gate.

The other three scenes, however, deal with the more distant view—the poet gazing beyond the fragile limits of the world, his spirit wandering in the realms of eternity (pl. 18, A):

White clouds like a belt
encircle the mountain's waist
A stone ledge flying in space
and the far thin road.
I lean on my bramble staff
and gazing into space
Make the note of my flute
an answer to the sounding torrent.

⁶² See poem relating to his imitating a Huang Kung-wang landscape. Speaking of the evening light on the river, he exclaims, "How can Huang Kung-wang be here now? . . . Transformed to an immortal crane does he return again?" (*Shih-t'ien*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 3/12a. For Liu Chüeh, see 91, *ch'i yen chüeh*, 4a.)

⁶³ P'ing-hsien according to a note in a poem (*Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *wu yen lü*, /8b). We have not gone into the matter in this essay, but the boat is also probably to be considered as a kind of studio, although a more elaborate boat than the skiff in this painting. A famous incident in the life of Mi Fei, the great Sung painter, shows that the boat for this master was at least a place for the observation and enjoyment of painting and calligraphy. (See Ferguson, 28, p. 19.) Shen Chou's painting in Chicago (pl. 7, C) was painted on a boat on his way home from Stone Lake.

Four tells of the homesick voyager who, in the indeterminate violet light of a cold autumn evening, comes back “from a thousand *li*” (pl. 18, B) :

The red of autumn comes to river trees
 The mountain smokes freeze fast the purple evening
 And those who long for home ⁶⁴
 Return from a thousand *li*.

Finally is the far traveler—unknown, his face an anonymous empty circle—who leaves the easy leisure of fishing on the river Cha, leaves behind travel by carriage, which is for a wide smooth road, and because of the lonely narrow path must take to horse or donkey (pl. 19, A) :

Still and heavy the trees of jade
 and not an even green.
 A fishing boat rests idle
 at the western edge of the Cha.
 Travelers on the bank
 are empty heads and faces
 Each having left his carriage wheel
 for a horse's hoof.

Actually, one cannot escape the fact of a wonderful unity of theme in all the subjects—the wandering of mankind and his longing for home, particularly in a world whose time, like the autumn, is growing late; home which is both the familiar home in a bamboo grove where one lives on the simple plants of one's garden and also the only real and lasting home thousands of *li* away, yet so near, out beyond the edge of time among the immortals.

⁶⁴ *Shun lu*, actually special fall delicacies from Shen Chou's district of Wu, sea perch and a kind of lotus. A famous figure in the Chin period, Chang Han, serving far away in the north and thinking of these in the autumn season, became so homesick he had to return. Hence, they have become synonymous with a longing for home. (*T'z'ü-hai*, 124, shen/89; Giles, 31, No. 54.)

VI. MIDDLE YEARS

Shen Chou's most characteristic mature individual manner is made clear in the three important paintings, or groups of paintings, in Boston, Washington, and Kansas City. It remains to expand that knowledge by indicating greater variety and flexibility through an examination of other paintings that grow out of the late seventies and eighties. Both because of their date and their generally solid character of construction, they can be aptly associated with the "middle" years of Shen Chou's art. For this late-maturing artist, it means he was in his fifties and sixties.

The earliest dated indication of the kind of painting that at least develops into this "middle" style is found in the year 1475 and is a hanging scroll that was once listed in the collection of the Suchou Library (pl. 19, B). It was done in the winter of that year and is a winter scene. It includes figures in a kind of walled-in landscape, and the figures are unusually important.

Once again, as is so often true of this positive painter of the specific, we can most clearly understand the art when we know the exact nature of the scene it commemorates. Here traditions of literature and the historical sense of the Chinese are clearly used in Shen Chou's poem and explanation, and the whole picture rings correct and true. Shen Chou had come this winter day to the Chu-t'ang Ssü (Bamboo Hall Temple) to view one of its famous winter sights, the blossoming of the plum—"one thousand trees." But the gate was blocked by snow and the place was empty. Then there suddenly appeared two friends, Li Ching-fu and Yang Ch'i, bent on the same pilgrimage. Curiously, at the same time an "Old Man" turned up bringing them wine, and for them was both company and the delight of the flowers.

All this is unmistakably painted: Shen Chou at the left, well wrapped for winter, greeting the two arrivals, each with his servant; at the once-blocked gate the "Old Man" sending out a boy with wine. The angled, brittle limbs of the plum trees must be thought to suggest the "thousand trees," while behind the wall the rocking eaves of a building tell us of the Bamboo Hall Temple.

The directness of the scene reflects Shen Chou's mature art as in the Boston *Moon* scroll or some leaves of the Kansas City album; and other technical tricks are evident, such as the filling of a foreground corner with an angle of tree or the limitation of distance, here defined by the temple wall and tree and architecture immediately behind it. But there is also something slightly less natural. There is more detail and more repetition of angular motifs than is consistent with the solid brevity of this kind of theme in the eighties. As its date of 1475 affirms, it speaks more of beginnings.

It is likely that Shen Chou's mature treatment of actual scenery from definite places is seen to best advantage in a series of album leaves of famous views of

Two Rivers, or the region around the Huai and Yangtze Rivers. These were reproduced years ago by the Commercial Press as being in the P'an Po-shan Collection, and although they emerge as dark black and glaring white, one cannot help but recognize them as skeletons of Shen Chou's genius. Beautifully imaginative compositions catch the essence of an actual scene, for Shen Chou's mind has extracted the key facts and then recorded them with unmistakable surety. Each scene is accompanied by a Shen Chou poem and is further praised by the poetry of five other Ming figures—the first being Wen Cheng-ming's son, Wen Chia, and the last the famous collector and connoisseur, Wang Shih-chen.

We cannot linger, for we do not have the privilege of analyzing the original album. But a view of *Ma-an shan* (Saddle Mountain) (pl. 20, A) shows us the solid placing of a craggy height that was famous for its saddle form, for rising abruptly out of the plain, for its queer-shaped stones, and its unobstructed view of K'un-shan, the *hsien* in which it was located. It went locally by the title K'un-shan (Mount K'un) and is even said to have given the *hsien* its name (17, p. 767).

Shen Chou's mature craft—let us say of the eighties—could be wonderfully true. He could and did catch the essence of a scene. We are therefore not surprised when common descriptions of T'ien-p'ing shan tally with Shen Chou's painting of this mountain in the west of Wu-hsien (pl. 20, B).⁶⁵ It was noted for the steepness of its peaks, flat-topped and gathered in a close-knit group. Halfway up the mountain was a pavilion, and at this point issued the "White Cloud Spring." At the base was the grave and temple of the great Sung dynasty figure Fan Chung-yen (989-1052), behind which was a garden. Thus is it painted for us on the sixth leaf of the collection. And there is added interest, for the painting of *Catalpa Trees* in Indianapolis (pl. 20, C) was of trees planted behind Fan's temple. It seems almost certain that Fan was Fan Chung-yen. Do we not, then, see the characteristic angled and forked trunks of catalpa trees beside and beyond the buildings of the shrine in this famous scene of Wu?

Another album (pls. 21, 22) at least formerly in the Hashimoto collection in Tōkyō, carries on the same theme of specific views. There are 10 leaves, and the inscription about them is explicit:

On an autumn day of 1488 So-t'ien (Han Hsiang) came to visit me in the "water country" and stayed ten days. He asked me to do ten scenes of Wu. And so in easy delight I did this as a present for his return.

It is not a monumental work. Compared with the last album the geography is more limited and so is the scope of the painting. The pages are relatively small—only a little over a foot each way—and often there is a sketchy quality about the scenes. At points this approaches a kind of delicacy, and paintings of a far earlier period are recalled. The view of Kuang-fu Temple reproduced by Sirén (104, vol. 1, pls. 56, 57), is particularly close to the *Mountain* scroll of 1471. It is a somewhat delicately defined stage across the front plane of the picture. In the

⁶⁵ It was only five *li* from Chih-hsing shan, a mountain that figures in a colophon dated 1491 after a painting in the Freer Gallery (17, p. 132). See Catalogue, xxxiv.

other one of Sirén's reproductions (*ibid.*), which is called Ling-yen shan, a great limiting sheet of mountain wash is a backdrop for a light towering plateau and huts and pine trees that recall Huang Kung-wang.

Solely on such stylistic evidence, this critic first placed the album as a kind of transitional piece leading from the work of the early seventies into the maturity of the essential style we are discussing here. But since that first judgment, more evidence has become available, and it has been possible to study facsimiles of all 10 leaves and read the inscription. Nor does there seem to be any reason to doubt the unity of the work.

"Transitional" it still may be. Yet here we are anticipating. It is a work of 1488. It was done close to the time of the Boston *Moon* scroll. Moreover, it has elements that are clearly close to passages in the Freer *Fishermen* scroll. But this knowledge is dependent on an understanding of the whole work and shows how difficult it is to judge a part alone, a single leaf, a fragment. Heng-t'ang (pl. 21) is a key to this advanced style. Here are elements of tree, house, and boat which clearly parallel the work in the Freer. But it is a key in other ways. For it is a specific spot which is easily recognizable from literary accounts that tell of a bridge with a covered pavilion on it (17, p. 1219). And this, too, is a scene of leavetaking, which fits the purpose of the album.

The view of Ch'ang-chou (pl. 22)—Suchou itself—must relate to Shen Chou's own haunts, or at least the "water country" of the inscription. The squares of the rice fields, hut, pine, water, rock, and mountain, these are surely the necessary furniture for Shen Chou's living. If there is a lack of stylistic definiteness as in the sketchy lines of fields, quick dots of trees, the uneven, jagged outline of the hills, and a diagonal composition suggesting some farther distance, it may be because this was a mere sketch, yet it may be because we are looking forward to the 1490's when, as we shall see, there are suggestions in what is late of that which Shen Chou painted early in his life. It may be that we should not entirely drop the adjective "transitional" in considering these 10 views.

Although mountains are often featured in his work, Shen Chou did not always need a towering height to capture the strength of nature. Coming from a land of rivers and lakes and plains, he knew their power from direct experience. Neither the Boston nor Freer scrolls have any great mountains. The same could be said for parts of the Kansas City album. It is a kind of nontowering power for which a later codifier praised Ni Tsan: "One need not always paint wild mountains and tumbled rocks to bring awe to the hearts of men." (44, p. 126, IV.)

Shen Chou often painted in the style of Ni Tsan. In an effort to further clarify the nature of his expression during the eighties it is interesting to turn to a painting of 1484 in the manner of this Yüan master of the calm stability of the lowlands (pl. 23, A). It is now in the Kansas City Gallery. As has already been seen in our discussion of the Hayashi album, Shen Chou's imitation of the ancients was one of a re-recording of spirit and intention rather than a literal tracing of fact.

No matter in what period he chose to imitate Ni Tsan, Shen Chou would have been seeking to follow the same model. Ni Tsan would have remained essentially

unchanged. If we see marked variation, it would come in the way Shen Chou painted or thought about the Yüan master rather than in a changing model.

Although retaining the essential features of the Ni Tsan formula (pls. 1, A, 23, B)—a sparse growth of trees, a lonely hut, a long expanse of vacant water, and some distant but not “wild” mountains—the painting of 1484 is far less empty.

That there are two men, one in a boat and the other in a pavilion, may be attributed to the content the painter wished to express. For Shen Chou the building or pavilion over the water and the boat floating on the water could have much the same meaning. He once wrote a poem speaking of a priest living by the water as though in a boat, and of the boat as a room to support the body floating above the earth (91, *ch'i yen lü*, 2/14b). In this picture, boat and pavilion clearly serve the same end. The scholar is in either, or both, and in both he is removed, lifted above the limitations of being tied to the world. The activities of the two figures, who may also be thought of as one, are similarly suited. The recluse in the boat is fishing. A book on the table in the pavilion indicates reading for whoever lives within, that or spending the hours gazing out of the wall-free room across limitless waters.

The actual handling of the subject, however, is done with a unique attention to factual expression, the kind of fact, that is, which we have found characteristic of the mature eighties, the desire to define clearly and unequivocally that which was to be said (pl. 25, A). The pavilion of 1484 is carefully, if not elaborately, constructed: straw and tiles on the roof, and the dark strong lines of a balustrade. It is an actual pavilion that might have stood somewhere near where Shen Chou lived, rather than the thin papery symbols of the Ni Tsan imitation of 1466 in Chicago (pl. 7, C). The form of the hills on the far edge of the water is strongly brought out by the use of *ts'un*, here of that studied careless type later known as “confused hemp-fibres.”⁶⁶ Behind these is the characteristic limitation of the back-drop wash of hills.

That this desire to represent Ni Tsan in a clear Shen Chou manner was not a mere accident, is affirmed by yet another painting in this style in a Chinese collection, that of Mr. Huang Chih-ch'ing (*Tōsō*, 120, pl. 245). This is so like the 1484 Ni Tsan scroll as to need no further explanation. Shen Chou's inscription makes no mention of Ni Tsan and it may well be that the artist himself felt that this sort of painting had gone too far in an independent direction to be justly linked with the Yüan model. A third painting, still farther removed in its simple, powerful grandeur, but of this general type, may be seen in the Palace Museum Collection now on Formosa (pl. 24).

It is by an evaluation of Shen Chou's use of the spirit of Ni Tsan that one comes to an understanding of the stylistic position of another fine Shen Chou work in the Boston Museum, an album of eight leaves. When the album is open, each

⁶⁶ *Luan-ma ts'un*. (March, 61, No. 213, 44, p. 159, III; Petrucci, 44, p. 159, LXII.)

According to a photostatic copy of a chart by Wang Shih-hsiang, which I have through the kindness of my friend, Dr. Nelson Wu of Cheshire, Conn., this term is not found in criticism until the late Ming period where it is in the *Mustard Seed Garden*. This, of course, does not mean that artists did not so paint before that time, but that such codification was not current in Shen Chou's time.

painting is paired with the calligraphy of Shen Chou's poetry that stands above it. The paper is flecked with gold. As Shen Chou's characters here have much of the strength of the firm, dry brush strokes in the painting, one is particularly reminded of the enduring relationship between the way a man wrote characters and the way a man wrote a painting.

The writing which accompanies the fourth leaf speaks of Ni who has not been seen for 200 years, yet his style survives (pl. 25, B). Shen Chou reproduces that style in the painting below. It is a Shen Chou-Ni Tsan manner extremely like the two paintings in Kansas City and Mr. Huang Chih-ching's collection. In one respect, however, it comes closer to the pale loneliness we associate with the Yüan master. Not a single human figure is present. But the use of strong, dark ink is apparent. Even the pale, thin houses must be reinforced with a few dark vertical and horizontal lines, and two black summits peek over the confining wash of backdrop hill.

There is not space to discuss each of these monochrome paintings in detail, but perhaps one, number five (pl. 26, A), tells us most clearly and simply that we are dealing with the clean-cut manner we have suggested as beginning sometime after his setting up of the Bamboo Dwelling and as reaching its height in the eighties. We are told:

The sullied world is wide with little room for peace.
So I seek a hut standing calmly by the water
Where wind comes, the moon visits, but no man intrudes;
Thus the idler may rest by the rail.

(117, p. 58.)

This is exactly what transpires in the painting. The scholar, who is alone, may be considered, in a kind of narrative sequence, to be represented twice, once wandering across the bridge, once leaning on the rail. One notes, too, in this little man the usual ballooned profile with its blank featureless face.

As in the middle of the *Fishing* scroll in the Freer, there is no overwhelming mountain. Here, rather, is a great rock or hill which, by the strength of its intricately woven brush strokes, or *ts'un*, stands as a symbol for the strength of all hills or mountains. It is a manner of painting related closely to a work dated 1479 (pls. 29, 30). It is to be related, too, to a dated handscroll of 1477 in the Portland Art Museum. Smaller in height, this latter has much of the same precision and detail as parts of the album—not just detail, but detail used to elaborate a solid and often imaginative structural sense. In the painting of 1477 one can find cubed and craggy rocks strangely suspended in space (pl. 26, B). In the Boston work the mountain under discussion is a veritable Gibraltar.

Across the distance of the album leaf is dropped the characteristic screen of wash varied with the silhouettes of yet darker sheets beyond. Nowhere is there a suggestion of vagueness or uncertainty.

It is of no little interest that this album was a prized possession of Shen Chou's most famous pupil, Wen Cheng-ming. From Wen Cheng-ming, the father, it passed to Wen Chia, the son, and it is this latter who tells us this in a colophon at

the end, a recording made by Wen Chia himself in 1576 out of the fondness of long memory at the end of his own long life. If we are right in guessing a date in the seventies (or possibly early eighties), the picture would then have been a hundred years old. At the latest it would have been painted when Wen Cheng-ming was still in his teens.

Also to be assigned to this general period is a likewise undated hanging scroll in Stockholm (pl. 27, A). For a winter scene it is filled with a good amount of detail, but the careful placing of all the parts, the isolated strength of individual brush strokes, bring this scroll into relationship with the *Mid-Autumn Moon* in Boston. Although it is not overly helpful, the fact that the painting has written on it a colophon by the famous poet Yao Shou at least gives us a distant limit, because Yao Shou died in 1495.

The composition is such a deliberately logical one as to evoke the Western term of "classic." The vertical clumps of the long-lived pines are echoed by the pillared masses of mountains. A central corridor of stream is wedged between their firm towering cliffs, and here is set a pavilion that holds the heart of the painting.⁶⁷ In the foreground we are given the sturdy top of a pine tree, balanced on the left by the top of a rock. This gives the viewer a very definite sense of elevation and he is allowed a kind of omniscient all-seeing view of what transpires in the mountain gorge. Yet how different is this "panorama" from the kind that was produced by fourteenth-century masters.

The two scholars are drawn like the figures in the Boston *Moon* scene. The one at the left, from the round shaven circle of his head, would seem to be a priest. Seated by a charcoal brazier they commune with the cold loneliness of winter, a firm world of snow-draped rock out of which Shen Chou has constructed a frosty cathedral for the meeting of great and lofty minds.

This hanging scroll, packing as it does a significant amount of detail into a narrow vertical composition, acts as a kind of bridge to a type of painting which otherwise might seem rather puzzling in Shen Chou. It involves a hanging scroll, large in size, which fits into its vertical form strong towering peaks that rise like mighty columns of fortitude behind and among the objects and people that are made to inhabit the setting. As specific style the paintings apparently may be related to quite varying ancient masters, both "academic" (Tai Chin) and "free" (Wu Chen), but it is the more formal character that predominates. Shen Chou painted them from at least as early as 1480 until well after the turn of the century, not many years before his death. Indeed, one suspects there was a far wider range of execution, and perhaps one should trace the type back to the great *Mount Lu* of 1467 (pl. 9, A).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Proof that this composition of a stream running through the center of a vertical scroll with cliffs on either side is not Shen Chou's invention may be found in a painting by Wang Fu in the same Stockholm Museum. Of course, Shen Chou has altered this idea to fit his own ends, but as with so much in this artist, the winter scene has a foundation in the past. (102, No. 34.)

⁶⁸ A somewhat puzzling snow landscape, from the National Museum in Japan, seems to belong to the group. It is reproduced in *Sōgen* (106, pl. 97). As over 8 feet of snow and mountain have been reduced to a few inches, the inscription is difficult to read. It seems to bear the cyclical characters equivalent to 1478, but at the same time

This early landscape tells us of one aspect of the type—its essential formality as opposed to smaller, more intimate works. *Mount Lu* was a present to an older teacher. But the 1467 painting was not on silk, and it is this material that makes notable the two examples we are about to consider. On these silk paintings, though lines remain firm, there is an easy moist quality to the ink in the lines, or brush strokes, when observed close at hand. The known silk examples also add color. Shen Chou's strong, stubby brush, as in the Boston *Moon* scroll, could hardly be expected to take on the less absorbent surface of silk, and the thin texture of the ink can only really be understood as applied to this surface, not paper.

The first of these paintings (pl. 27, B) is owned by Mr. H. C. Weng in New York, and the subject is that of a famous fourth-century figure, Hsieh An, wandering on his favorite East Mountain, near K'uei-chi in Chekiang, where he lived in his youth.⁶⁹ He is accompanied also by favorite aids to his traditional enjoyment of the setting—a string of dancing girls and a deer.

The silk, worn and somewhat damaged, has taken on the orange rustiness of age, and the ink has faded. It is a detailed painting, but most curious in the handling of the ink is the flat, shallow quality of the oft-repeated *ts'un* and the strokes that give the ink outlines to the forms. As such the brushwork is in marked contrast to the firm, heavy, often stubby quality of most of what we have considered at this time. One should add to this the color which fills in detail with distant peaks of blue or blue-green wash and adds dots of pink to the blossoms flowering on peach or plum, as well as the old, old formula of blue-green hillsides contrasted with the warm orange of aged silk.

Clearly we are dealing with Shen Chou's idea of that academic strain of painting which Tung Ch'i-ch'ang was to style Northern Sung. The real key to the painting comes in the label which not only gives us a date, 1480, but also states that it is done in imitation of the style of Tai Chin. The versatile Shen Chou, who seems to have been able to imitate anybody at any time, also painted in this "green and gold" manner.

Curiously enough, this painting helps us understand Shen Chou's earlier works because we are dealing here with painting, not so much as Shen Chou himself personally handled the art as with the way his contemporaries painted, and particularly the greatest of them, Tai Chin. Although we find a rather characteristic Shen Chou hallmark in the way he has piled up his mountain plateaus, the composition at least partly follows a formula we have seen in earlier works. Particularly is this noticeable in the way the far hills are arranged in a kind of receding diagonal and the illusion of mist around their bases is conveyed by allowing the warm silk to show through. This contrasts with Shen Chou's own mature style where he works with a cleancut stage with no background or a definite limiting backdrop of a curtain of ink wash. The clump of pines in the right foreground

to declare that this is the Hung Chih era—an impossibility, since the first year of Hung Chih was 1488. The style has an angular and somewhat staccato character that recalls the smaller winter scene of 1475 (pl. 19, B). This is a case demanding study of the original to determine what all 8 feet really look like.

⁶⁹ Hsieh An (320-385). Giles, 31, p. 287; and *Jen-ming*, 16, p. 1675.

is also a motif of early days. The slanting line of hills recalls the painting of the *Retreat* of 1464. Pines were in the right foreground on the *Mount Lu* picture of 1467 (pls. 6, A, 9, A).

This shows us that when he so wished, Shen Chou could turn to the more characteristic formulas of his day. It confirms the fact that he was depending upon them in his pictures of the sixties, and it also furnishes a most interesting comparison with the essential and unique strength of his own independent style.

This strength and the clear inventive logic behind it is never really lost, even in "academic" works. We do not speak just of solid composition, or the careful neatness of a continuing detail or series of details, like that of the path up East Mountain, which is sometimes hidden, sometimes visible, yet consistent throughout. (It disappears into a stalactite cave, reemerges by a fence and some peach blossoms; hidden, it is found again by some pines; finally lost, we are yet sure of an end at the mountain temple.) Other aspects, such as the treatment of the color and the brushing of the ink, display imagination. There is a definite color pattern in the hills, with the curved cloudlike forms of rock being in blue, while the straight, vertical cliffs are in strokes and washes of green. There is, too, a unique and curious short sketchlike stroke, a sort of horizontal hatching, that is used over and over again to give the illusion of recession or "shadow" in the creases of the hills.

Shen Chou's "academic" manner is continued in the second of the two works mentioned above, a painting in the Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa), *Floating in a Boat among Fragrant Lotuses* (pl. 28). Like the Tai Chin picture, it is on silk; it is large and of approximately the same size (over 5 feet high); the rocks are constructed of curious flat washlike *ts'un*; mists are part of the composition of the far mountains, and colors have been added to give the precise, even bright, quality of the "green and gold" manner. Granting this, there is a selective firmness as in the outlining of plateaus, in the placing of rocks, and in the outlined far peaks, these latter treated much like those in the Stockholm picture.

This kind of detailed work was particularly suited to the visual expression of literary allusions. The picture in New York is the direct "portrait" of a literary hero, Hsieh An. The Taichung scroll follows suit in a more symbolic fashion. The idea, both in the poem and painting, of floating away, aided by wine, across the surface of the water to transform oneself into an immortal is so characteristic an idea as to fit completely both Shen Chou's own longings and centuries of Chinese poetry:

Lotus flowers and lotus leaves
Fill the clear stream.
Drinking, lying in my skiff,
Heaven is in a mirror.
And thus knowing river and mountain
I find flat earth's immortals.

How the artist is able to experience or "know" river and mountain is very carefully shown in the background where the recluse is seen to be fishing, standing in his dwelling gazing into space, and at the left wandering among the hills.

His poem speaks of immortals on earth, and in the painting this is a literal fact. For on a very level platform jutting into the stream are two cranes, those strange immortal guests who came from the worlds where no men die and as such are tangible proof of the realms to which sages must someday all depart. Their straining heads lead in a diagonal to Shen Chou himself lying in his boat, drinking his wine.

One of the background figures, the one with the fishing pole, is once again a reminder of the significance of this activity for the retired scholar. To mention at least one instance of the delight the poet gained from sitting on a bank with a pole, it is worth recalling the ninth-century Po Chü-i:

In spring I love the smell of the grass, the filling out of the green upon the trees, which soothe and purify the spirit and exhilarate the humors of the blood. On summer nights I love the trickling of the fountain, the chill of the breeze, which wash care away and dissolve the fumes of wine. Here the mountain trees are my roof, the rocky cliffs my screen. Clouds rise from the rafters of the shrine; the water is level with its steps. As you sit and enjoy this scene you may wash your feet without rising from your couch; while you lie in intimate converse with it, you may dangle your fish-hook with your hand still on the pillow. (130, p. 149.)

The real purpose of this activity was not, we can be sure, to catch fish, but here, where the body is so stilled, to rise on great voyages through limitless realms of space. Li Po wrote of this:

So I sat quietly dropping my hook,
on the banks of a grey stream.
Suddenly again I mounted a ship,
dreaming of the sun's horizon.
(131, p. 41.)

And Tu Fu:

And I am thinking of the many floating clouds above the waters of the south.
Taking a fishing rod, I shall finally sail far away. (41, p. 203.)

We have left to the last a painting that is in many ways the most elaborate and ambitious of which we have clear record. It is fitting that the painting should be discussed last among Shen Chou's work in the seventies and eighties, not because it occurred last in time, but because, coming from the middle years of this period, it is a kind of encyclopedic statement of all that he could put into a painting (pls. 29, 30). The scroll, now in the Kadogawa collection in Tōkyō, is not dated, but we are sure of the date, because this was a scroll painted for Wu K'uan, Shen Chou's great friend. And the occasion was Wu K'uan's return to the capital after a protracted stay at Suchou because of the death of his father. This is a well-recorded event. Poems survive, written by Wu K'uan and Shen Chou during this period when Wu K'uan was at Suchou. A very brief glimpse into the kind of experiences they had is given by the subjects. One tells of a rainy evening when

Shen Chou stayed at Wu K'uan's house in the year 1478. Another is to commemorate an occasion when Wu K'uan came to Shen Chou's Bamboo Dwelling and they examined together a painting by Li Ch'eng and an ancient Shang-dynasty ritual bronze. They also took a trip to Yü-shan, a mountain to the north of Suchou.⁷⁰ The friendship between these two "greats" is of special interest as reflecting the relation between a man of the world and a man who had withdrawn from the world.

The particular departure of which this painting was the occasion took place in 1479. It is said that Shen Chou worked three years on the scroll.⁷¹ It is certainly true that he packed it so full of detail that it gives the impression of this kind of painstaking labor. It was done in "payment" for Wu K'uan's having written the memorial inscription for the tomb of Shen Chou's father. As the scroll itself had such a tangible object, it could not be any offhand recording or the result of momentary inspiration. Like the earlier *Towering Mount Lu* (pl. 9, A), it must show the artist's technical skill. As such it was a painting destined to be very much "of the world." Thus, except for one small passage comprising about one-tenth of the total length, there are no protracted areas of empty sky and water and far horizon.

Chang Ch'ou says that it is "entirely Chao Meng-fu."⁷² Although no one has ever made a careful study of the real style of Chao Meng-fu, the fact that this Yüan painter worked for the court and was hence associated with a more academic and official style probably means that the Ming critic considered this as especially careful painting, incorporating as well a learned man's view of the antique. It does not, however, have the qualities that we have seen in Shen Chou's imitation of Tai Chin. It was not this kind of academicism, and hence we can assume that Shen Chou also put into this scroll a tremendous amount of himself. After all, it was something from him to a close friend.

The painting is filled with a parade of rock and hill, and only an occasional break leads us back into a valley or to some scene of human activity. Almost no part of the painting is left empty. The top of the picture often cuts off tree and rock before we see their summits and hence has the effect of projecting the observer

⁷⁰ *Shih-wen chi*, 93, 10/16. Interestingly, there is a scroll given to Li Ch'eng in the Saitō collection in Japan (*Tōanzō*, 116, pl. II, 1-7). This is followed by colophons by Shen Chou's friends and followers, including Wu K'uan and Shen Chou himself. If genuine, either the painting or the colophons, this is of great interest. Neither of their colophons is dated, but I suspect they should be earlier or later than the event in the poem. The seal that precedes the Shen Chou calligraphy is that of Yu-chu chuang, the same place where he says he did the bird and flower painting of 1468 owned by Mr. Dubosc (pl. 10, B). There is also a seal bearing this name, apparently a kind of family seal, on a late painting in this same Saitō collection (pls. 42, 43). At the time of Wu K'uan's visit he seems to be too closely connected with the Bamboo Dwelling, his own retreat, to use the name of another, possibly his family's, house. Yü-shan is in Ch'ang-shu hsien, directly north of Suchou.

⁷¹ In Wang Shih-chen's colophon at the end of the scroll (printed in his *Yen Chou*, 137, 138/5; repeated by Chang Ch'ou *Ch'ing-ho*, 10, Shen Chou section/6a). The idea of working three years on the scroll may come from the standard length of the period of mourning which was "three years." Since Wu K'uan came home to mourn his father, his stay in Suchou was approximately this "three-year" period.

⁷² *Chen-chi*, 4, 2/17. On another occasion he speaks of the style of Tung Yüan, *Ch'ing ho*, *loc. cit.* But this latter seems to be a more general concept. Shen Chou was constantly considered to be painting in the style of Tung Yüan.

all the more intimately into the world portrayed. One is seldom even far enough removed from things to see the sky. Close as is the view, it is still "panoramic," but in relation to the near rather than the far. We look at it from above. Not unlike the Stockholm winter scene, the combined result both allows us to see everything and brings us very intimately into the midst of that detail.

The specific means is ink. No color is added.⁷³ Both because of this fact and because of the manner of applying this ink so as to fill up all the space with a continuous rain of strokes, this painting is like certain portions of the Boston Museum album (pl. 26, A).⁷⁴ The general manner of bringing out the form of the rocks is that of *p'o-mo* or "broken ink." According to this technique, the outline and general configuration of the rocks was defined and then form or modeling was brought about by the adding of countless *ts'un* (brush strokes) until the complete rock stood out bold and clear. This was a method particularly associated with the name of Wang Meng (61, No. 114). Indeed, it might be said that Shen Chou's rocks shown here, in the Boston album, or again in the Portland picture (pl. 26, B) are a kind of straightened-out, bold Wang Meng.

Within the general framework of this broken-ink technique a great many *ts'un*, or strokes, are used. However, there is a certain effect of fusing individual strokes. Nevertheless, one can make out certain parts of the traditional vocabulary. There are the often used *p'i-ma ts'un* (pl. 29, A, right) and a slightly more confused version of the same known as *ma-p'i ts'un* (same, left background). Both of these are strokes resembling hemp fibers. Even at times these hemp-fiber strokes take on a still greater confusion and are known as *luan-ma ts'un* (same, left foreground), confused hemp fibers. These latter we see also in the painting of 1484 in Kansas City (pl. 23, A). It is possible, too, to discern, particularly toward the base of some of the rocks, the building up of form by use of *yü-tien ts'un*, raindrop strokes (pl. 29, B, right foreground).

Actually, it must be admitted—and this is a tribute to the spontaneous quality of his art—that Shen Chou usually defies a sharp clarification. For example, his eroded plateaus seem in their definition sometimes to follow a rather soft, dry version of the *ta-fu-p'i ts'un*, large axe strokes, and sometimes to imitate the first horizontal and then vertical dragging of the brush which is generally attributed to Ni Tsan, *che-tai ts'un* (pl. 30), strokes resembling severed bands.⁷⁵

Shen Chou is universally fond of clothing his rocks—and this can be seen as far back as the 1466 painting in Chicago—with dark sharp dots which both suggest undergrowth and compose a kind of surface leitmotif giving sparkle and variety to the design. At times they seem to be a somewhat enlarged version of

⁷³ The report in *Kokka* (84) has no mention of color, and the author's study of the painting in Tōkyō in 1959 later confirmed this.

⁷⁴ Although looser in execution, a series of four album leaves owned by Richard B. Hobart of Cambridge are in the same general tradition. They are part of a larger set privately owned in Switzerland, but although in themselves they are boldly painted, there is no additional information about them, their subject, or reason for execution. They are identified as "Shen Chou" by seals alone. (See Lee, 50, No. 51.)

⁷⁵ For these strokes see March, 61, Nos. 209, 210, 213, 225, 228, 230; and Petrucci, 44, pp. 455, 453, 461, and 456, and p. 29 for illustrations.

"black pepper dots," *hu-chiao tien*, but perhaps can best be described under the general term of *p'o-pi tien*, broken brush dots (61, Nos. 237 and 238; 44, pp. 450 and 455).

Often Shen Chou's strokes are so fused as to give the effect of slightly broken areas of wash. This contributes to giving his pictures in this ink style a strong and powerful softness, a kind of depth in the texture of surfaces. Somehow his imitators could never grasp this soft, strong quality, so that they are either weak in their softness or obvious in their strength with the brush flashing across the surface as though it were designing wallpaper patterns.⁷⁶

One could add a great variety, as well, in the expression of the foliage of trees. Locked in this tightly packed world of tree and rock and the flowering of brush strokes that give it expression and life are a few tiny objects that tell us of the human world. A small stream winds peacefully from the distance, where it has come from a grove of trees, through a bridge and past a wayside hut (pl. 29, A). Having descended from a rugged rustic bridge, swept across the smooth and rising surge of a broad plateau, penetrated the staccato sharpness of rocks, we come to music. In a pavilion among the pines an aging scholar plucks his stringed instrument, the *ch'in* (pl. 29, B). At the very end is a little village. It is on the edge of the water, and in a marvelous compositional touch we are given only a suggestion of that water in a shallow curve at the top of the picture. Consistent with the detail of the whole picture, the water is carefully defined, so that a series of parallel lines give us the rhythm of the waves as they lap on the shore. A traveler astride a donkey is leaving (pl. 30). Across the way a gateman peeks beyond the edge of his gate. This is doubtless no ordinary traveler. He is attended by a small group of retainers. A strange dwarfed and angular figure plods along with his staff on the other side of the gully. This may be thought of as a particular Shen Chou touch, as a similarly hunched figure wanders along a raised path among the fields in leaf number three of the Boston album.

Even down to small detail, if one is searching for touches of Shen Chou, one should note the dark reinforcing of certain lines of architecture (cf. the 1484 painting in Kansas City, pl. 25, A), the way the detail drops off behind the bamboo in the little village compound (cf. Boston *Mid-Autumn Moon*, pl. 14, A), the delineation of the tiny grove near the opening of the picture (cf. Kansas City album, pl. 17, A), the way a tiny figure may just partly emerge from behind a promontory or wall (Portland scroll).

This is no ordinary traveler. Nor is he heading for worlds that lie beyond the edges of the picture. Rather, on his sure-footed donkey he is going back into the solid valleys of the painting. He is headed for the pavilion among the pines where Shen Chou himself is plucking a tune. For at least in a man's mind and in the creation of the artist old friends never part, but are forever and joyfully together, as long as the creator raises the mountains and causes the wind to sing through the pines. Here for Wu K'uan and Shen Chou there is no farewell, only reuniting.

⁷⁶ This applies to a long winter landscape in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts which is often very dramatic in its compositional arrangements and has a great deal of vigorous brushwork. However, it is completely lacking in depth, and it seems impossible to relate it to the powerful personality of Shen Chou. (See Tseng and Edwards, 123.)

VII. LATE YEARS

A scroll in the Freer Gallery dated 1491 (pl. 31) gives us still another manner of painting by this versatile artist and suggests for the historian that Shen Chou was approaching the final years of his career. At first glance it indicates a reversion to the delicacy and often the dreamy mistiness of Shen Chou in the sixties. Actually, a careful examination shows that although something of the net result is the same, the means is really quite different. Whereas in the earlier painting delicacy was brought about by the use of a very fine bounding line which had the effect of outlining miniatures (Hayashi album), or else when the line was thicker and firmer it was still outline but made delicate by its powdery texture (Chicago scroll), in this painting of 1491 the ink itself tells its own quiet story. Here the feeling of the weight of line is at a minimum, so delicately is it brushed (as the dry stuttering edge on some of the hills), and it is only used extensively on the parts that come under the heading of "boundary painting," to define the manmade objects such as boat, bridge, and house.

So light is the touch of Shen Chou's brush that we are reminded particularly of one tremendous potential inherent in the nature of this medium—its potential for the utmost delicacy. For in the brush, unlike the pen, there is nothing hard. Ink or colored wash may flow directly from it to appear suddenly and miraculously in its own essential nature, something both soft and wet on the paper. The instrument is not in itself a controlling or limiting tool between the artist and the painting. The sense of control must, then, exist in the artist himself. A clumsy or wavering hand immediately sends the soft and sensitive bristles awry.

Much of the admiration this painting creates comes from such a realization. For, in keeping with the traditional manner, it would have been painted without even the hand resting on the paper (pl. 32, A), but with the whole arm moving freely and only the very tip of the brush tracing the softest line or dropping quickly and deftly to cover an area with wash. One feels that the more delicate the appearance, the more the necessity for strength and control. The result is proof—like the bending grass or ever-shifting water—that the greatest strength can lie in apparently the softest and most fragile of the works of nature or man.

When we say line is at a minimum, we are also saying that the essential means of this painting is colored ink wash. The hills, on which the splash technique of Mi Fei is used, are in green-blue ink. The color is thus applied directly; it is the structure itself and does not rely on an intermediary line, the bounded areas of which are later filled with color. The lotus pads are moist drops of green ink that melt into the soft water. (Contrast them with those in the *Floating in a Boat among the Fragrant Lotuses* in the Palace Museum, pl. 28). Characteristic of the more familiar old technique is the triangular definition of

leaves on one of the trees, here given a bluish wash. But on the cypresses any approximation to spiky line quickly melts into a kind of fusion of wet ink. The *p'i-ma ts'un*, hemp-fiber strokes, on the rocks are reduced to a bare minimum, varied with a strong pattern of black pepper dots or broken brush dots to indicate shrubbery or undergrowth.

The allover tonality is cool blue and green, and the very great power of Shen Chou's delicate handling of color may be seen in the almost unnoticed yet somehow tremendous contrast to this coolness conveyed by the tiny pink blossoms crowding the bare branches of a tree by the water. This painting is a song to the quiet power of spring that every year, modest and unannounced, rises from hidden depths to bring joy still, even now, to the aging scholar who travels through and sits before its truth (pl. 32, B, C, D).

That the figure moves is indicated by his appearing more than once. As he stands on the bridge, behind him is the moored boat which he has left in his passage to the simple retreat. As in the Wu K'uan scroll, the figure moves contrary to the direction in which the scroll is unrolled.

Some of these scrolls of the nineties have the flavor of early works. Here is a kind of Indian summer. Before the last decade of his life he has turned back to the springtime of his painting career. The delicacy of the spring landscape in the Freer, as we have seen, suggests this. A painting of the same year, 1491, also in the Freer Gallery of Art (pl. 33, A), is done in the style of Wang Meng and recalls how an earlier painting followed the style of that master, *Towering Mount Lu* of 1467 (pl. 9, A). It will be remembered, too, that a mark of Shen Chou's earliest style was the painting of small pictures. We have in the Palace Museum collection at Taichung a small recording which can best be considered as a kind of diary note of an experience in the early fall of 1492, during the full moon of the seventh month (about September on our calendar). This scroll (pl. 33, B) is only a little over six Chinese inches wide, and while in total height it is more than two and a half feet, the calligraphy takes up almost half of the paper so that the actual painting is something like a foot and a half by six inches.

The painting in the style of Wang Meng has, if one looks beneath the surface, far greater similarities to its contemporary, the *Spring Landscape* in the Freer, than it does to the painting of Mount Lu done 24 years before. Within the swirling vocabulary of tree and almost vegetable-growing rock, the earlier painting conforms much more to a rigid pattern, a majesty that was well defined and within the limits of a kind of style set by Shen Chou's elder contemporaries. The later painting shows all that softness and delicacy of touch that we have already seen in the quiet scene of spring. The jungle of strokes that define rock, layer on layer, tree, and undergrowth are done with a very light touch. Part of this impression is gained by the quickly brushed washes that give form to many of the conifers living on the mountain peaks. This, too, is seen in the wash of the far peak, whereas in the picture of 24 years before, distant peaks are almost sculpturally carved in terms of *ts'un* and outline. In composition the late work presents an underlying framework which seems clearly based on the clarity of his painting in the eighties—

an emphasis on vertical and horizontal and on receding stages parallel to the picture plane. This contrasts with the work of 1467 where diagonals were of primary importance, diagonals organized according to the more accepted formulas of the day. A final point might be noted in the figure of the scholar crossing the bridge, not dissimilar in both pictures of 1491.

Let us add a sure, objective, and natural reason for Shen Chou's soft forms. This painting is, too, a painting of spring, and the softness is the tender new beauty of every spring. The poet-painter writes:

Across Hsü River is your home,
The road over a bridge;
Here wandering is by shining waters
Through mountain shapes.
The guest's staff taps at the door
A bird flies off
As you shake from your gown the red rain
Blown of the wild peach.

If the Freer Gallery painting by Wang Meng is to be considered characteristic of that artist, it must be admitted that the mountain scene of 1491 is far closer to the real style of Wang Meng than that of Mount Lu. A comparison with the Wang Meng picture shows a similar textural interest: the light powdery quality of the ink in the brush strokes, combined with occasional soft areas of gray wash. It, too, comes close to Wang Meng in showing a very definite interest in architecture, those human habitations that are so skillfully delineated and yet seem so contrary and lost beneath the towering growing cliffs of rock. Parallelisms even carry to the figures of scholars and servants scattered through both landscapes—with the exception, I feel, of Shen Chou himself standing on the foreground bridge of his painting.

This close imitation of Wang Meng in 1491 is rather proof of the ephemeral, floating quality that Shen Chou at this time attributed to the physical world. For as Wang Meng often saw his mountains as like the endlessly rolling clouds, so we can say that Shen Chou, in imitating him so closely, was merely saying that he, too, viewed the world in this light. At this point, in terms of ultimate outlook, in terms of the idea, the two paintings of 1491 are extremely close. The calm characteristic order of the composition is, however, Shen Chou and not his model.⁷⁷

A different type of painting is the small and quick recording of the following year, 1492, that we mentioned as being in the Palace Museum collection (pl. 33, B). From the reproduction the painting gives us very little. Yet its rather brief quality bears resemblance to the sketch-view of Suchou in the album of 1488 (pl. 22). In basic composition it is remarkably close to the Freer 1491 landscape illustrated beside it: a filled right lower corner, an angle from left to right into the middle distance, a slightly off-center cleft in the mountains that rise prominently behind.

⁷⁷ This is a reminder, too, of the real nature of imitation in Oriental art: "... it is not the outward appearance (*hsing*) as such, but rather the idea (*i*) in the mind of the artist, or the immanent divine spirit (*shen*), or the breath of life (*ch'i*), that is to be revealed by the right use of natural forms." (Coomaraswamy, 22, p. 14.)

It is only a kind of illustration of the event recorded above it in such detail. Consistent with the sketchy unsubstantial quality of the painting is the experience he had while sitting alone in the deep night:

On a cold night sleep is very sweet. I woke in the middle of the night, my mind clear and untroubled, and as I was unable to go to sleep again, I put on my clothes and sat facing my flickering lamp. On the table were a few folders of books. I chose a volume at random and began to read, but tiring I put down the book and sat calmly doing nothing. A long rain had newly cleared, and a pale moon was shining through the window. All around was silence.

Then after a long time absorbing the fresh brightness, I gradually became aware of sounds. Listening to the rustling of the wind stirring the bamboo gave one the feeling of going bravely and unwaveringly onward. Hearing the harsh snarling of dogs gave feelings of barring out evil, of opposing marauders. Hearing the sound of drums, large and small—the small ones thin, and the far ones clear and deep and uninterrupted—stirred restless thoughts that were lonely and sad. The official drum was very close, from three beats, to four and then five, gradually faster, hastening the dawn. Suddenly in the northeast the sound of a bell, a bell pure and clean through rain-cleared air, and hearing it, came thoughts of waiting for the dawn, rising and doing. It was inevitable.

My nature is such as to enjoy sitting in the night. So I often spread a book under the lamp going back and forth over it, usually stopping at the second watch. Man's clamor is not at rest, and yet the mind is bent on learning. Seldom does he find the outside calm and the inner world at peace.

Now tonight all sounds and shapes bring this stability and calm. Thus can one purify the mind and spirit and realize one's will. But one should remember that it is not that at other times these sounds and shapes do not exist like this, nor that they do not reach the eye and ear of man, but that appearance is the servant of a thing, and yet the mind hastens to follow it.

True perception through hearing lies concealed in sound like that of drum and bell, whereas perception through seeing is hidden in any pattern. Thus things usually harm rather than help men. Often is it like tonight's sounds and shapes, for they are really no different from other times, and yet striking the ear and eye they become so firmly and wonderfully a part of me. And so this existence of sounds and patterns is not what prevents me from gaining wisdom; for things are not enough to enslave men.

When sound is broken and shape shattered and the will rises free, what is this will? Is it within? Or is it without? Or is it in a thing? Or does it cause the thing to be? Is there not a way of defining the difference? Most certainly, and I perceive the difference.

How great is the strength to be gained sitting in the night. Thus, cleansing the mind, waiting alone through the long watches by the light of a candle becomes the basis of an inner peace and of an understanding of things. This, surely, will I attain.

I made this record of a night vigil in 1492 during the autumn on the sixteenth day of the seventh month. Shen Chou of Suchou.

However these ideas may spring from Buddhist concepts—and certainly Shen Chou pictures himself seated like a Buddhist sage in his shelter—this stands as a kind of artist's creed. For as the artist must fundamentally deal with matter, the creation or moulding of matter in terms of sounds and shapes, these cannot be considered irrelevant; they are not mere illusion. Rather, all appearance, all manifestations of matter, all "things" hold the core of truth. It is through acceptance rather than denial of the world that one learns of the nature of reality. Most particularly in these later years Shen Chou paints against a background such as this. For one can see in his scrolls a marvelous balance between the obligation to paint the beauty of the world as it appears to the eye and the necessity to suggest its fragile

and deceptive quality as mere appearance. He thus would lead us to its inner and essential nature, to "an understanding of things."

Another type of scroll which, though undated, I would tentatively place in this period, is represented by a handscroll in Kansas City (pl. 34, A). It is a very direct and simple subject, a departure scene, which, as we have pointed out, occurs particularly in poetry and over and over again. In this case the friend, unidentified except by a reference to Tsung-yin in the succeeding Shen Chou poem, practiced medicine. This fact and his departure provoke a eulogistic poem by Shen Chou, and, of course, the painting.

Certainly we know of no Shen Chou painting as clear in its organization of masses—rocks, promontories, plateaus, the sparse clumps of trees—or as forceful and direct in its use of line before the late seventies or eighties. Nor is there anything with a comparable quality of softness overlying this strength before the nineties. The outlook is panoramic, and he also makes use of a receding diagonal of water. But it is not inappropriate for Shen Chou to return to certain earlier compositional devices at this later stage of his artistic career.

In a sense it is a slight work, yet an extremely strong one despite a quiet unassuming exterior. I would guess, although the reproduction does not show the same soft qualities, that an apparently similar painting in a Japanese collection was done about the same time (pl. 34, B). At least in part, from what can be deciphered, it has a fine pedigree, having been in the collections of Hsiang Yüan-pien of the Ming period and Liang Ch'ing-piao in the Ch'ing. The subject is supposed to be Lake T'ai, a large lake in eastern China, one of whose arms reaches around close to the walls of Shen Chou's native Suchou. Of striking similarity to the Kansas City scroll is the handling of rock, promontory, and plateau, and the sparse placing of the double-trunked trees—all this arranged against large areas of open lake.

In the Piacentini collection in Japan is another undated painting which on stylistic ground seems related to Shen Chou's painting in the early nineties (pl. 35)—the soft handling of a very firmly organized composition. Here the hazy technique is particularly apt:

The late wind breathes a dream
And the day goes on forever.
The sun's shadows stand erect
In the circle of jade trees.
A guest knocks at the door
And no answer
As resting on a high pillow
I listen to the new cicadas.

Poem and painting are particularly close, even to the circle of jade trees emphasized by the curving form of the land on which they stand. There is suggestion, too, on the ground, of the tight circumference of noontime shadow, and the softness of the far mountain is the softness of the still heat of a day that, because it stands motionless, can have no end.

This painting reveals two facts that often recur in Shen Chou's art as we have reviewed it. One is the fact of time. Much has been said about the ideological quality of Chinese painting, that it comes from the mind, that it is not a copy of the external world. As such it does not fall victim to the disease of superficial copying of external appearance. However this may be, it is well to remember that at least in Shen Chou, the sense of the eternal, the timeless, is often closely linked with a very specific time.⁷⁸ Clearly it is through the moment, the awareness of the intense possibilities of an experience at a given time, that one is able to reach beyond to that which is timeless. The cold of a winter day, the heat of high noon, the fragile magic of twilight, the joy of a feast, the sorrow of parting, sounds and shapes in a rain-cleared night that has passed one day beyond a full moon, these are gateways to the knowledge of reality. As such they are worthy of a painting, worthy of a poem. The poem must be written; the painting must be brushed. There is, accordingly, no denial of the world whose essence is bound up with the quality of time, but an acceptance of the world for what it is—a wonderful passing show which, would we but watch and listen, can bring us to the joy of the immortals.⁷⁹

The second fact is that of sound. This we know through the poetry which is often such an integral part of the painting. In gathering waterchestnuts we must be aware of a song floating across the quiet waters; a song or chant of boatmen when fishermen are concerned; the rustling of river grasses; the reciting of poetry at a feast. Even the scholar reading alone is not without accompaniment. For here is the "sound of reading," a very literal fact, as reading was done out loud and with a definite rhythm.⁸⁰

We who perhaps have become too attuned to a city and noise or country and silence must in Shen Chou's landscapes be made aware of another dimension, for they cannot be considered, still as they appear to us today, as merely beautiful and silent shapes. This would be often to rob them of the life that is rightly theirs. Shen Chou's nature was a lived-in nature. It was neither virgin, like our early wilderness, nor sterilized by overmechanization. In it, at least in Shen Chou's day, men and animals, birds and insects lived—and died—together. This countryside of China, so inhabited and yet so still, is incomplete without the rhythm of what can be heard. In this painting, in the dead of noon is the singing of the cicadas. There is also the sound of a friend knocking at the gate. But the sound of the cicadas is greater.

In the spring of 1499 Shen Chou went to I-hsing, west of Suchou and on the other side of great Lake T'ai. There with a friend, Wu Ta-pen, he visited one

⁷⁸ This, of course, does not include scrolls of a traditional and "timeless" scene such as the Freer fishing scroll (pl. 15).

⁷⁹ A more strictly "traditional" view of this same truth runs, "One might say, not that transient effects are meaningless, but that their value is not realized except to the degree that they are seen *sub specie aeternitatis*, that is *formaliter*." (Coomaraswamy, 22, p. 31.)

⁸⁰ Interestingly, this method of reading was widespread throughout Asia, and points up the modern and unique quality of our silent reading. See the *Book of Acts*, 8:26-31, the encounter of Philip with the Ethiopian: ". . . so Philip ran to him and heard him reading . . ."

of the local wonders of nature, a stalactite grotto which went under the name of Chang Kung's Cave.⁸¹ Now in the Weng collection in New York, the painting, the long description of the trip, and Shen Chou's poem present a complete recording of the experience. Done at Wu Ta-pen's insistence, the scroll in such combination once more reaffirms the justice of calling this art "literary men's painting" (pl. 36).

The scroll is unlike other works of the nineties, and if we did not have the literary evidence and a written date, it is not the kind of painting we would automatically give to Shen Chou's later years. Its tight, strong, literal style is closer to work of the eighties. This must be partly the result of the nature of the subject—a lot must be told and told clearly. Once having accepted this, it is possible to note a kind of softness—a shallower texture to the ink, which at times is brushed with smooth swiftness. But in general the painting warns us not to insist on too pure or definite a stylistic configuration or development in following the devious pattern of Shen Chou's art.

It is interesting to compare something of Shen Chou's written account with what the painting shows. Shen Chou has arranged his visual composition so as to be consistent with the specified facts of the trip, yet when necessary has manipulated them, as an artist must, to make the experience of the painting coincide with the experience the artist knew. In the painting we are first brought to a great, rocky, flat-topped height whose heart is pierced by the cave. But we read in Shen Chou's account that this was a low and insignificant hill dwarfed by surrounding mountains. We are thus arbitrarily given a near view of the most important part of the scene.

Further, the artist seems at one time to give both an inside and an outside view—the doorlike entrance on the right, at the left a "window to the sky" whose opening was screened by undergrowth and yet which, in the full light of the sun, illuminated the cave beneath. The cave itself is opened up and we stand with Shen Chou on a stone platform raised above the floor of the cave and look south into its depths—like the nobleman of ancient Confucian tradition whose back is to the north. So this strange and auspicious cavern is revealed with sloping walls soaring over us, as the artist tells, like the wings of some fabulous bird; and the stalactites hover above like the teeth of a great open-mouthed monster threatening to grind its helpless victims, yet never able to close. The dripping from these fangs has through the centuries built pillared rocks of strange shape rising from the floor below. Thus it is that Shen Chou, too old really to wander and explore (he is 73) stands and ponders the wonder and gains for himself something of the knowledge of immortality.

Although the description tells first of the river journey, the hunt for the obscure hill, the walk over the raised paths that divided the rice fields, and the climb on the slope, in the painting we are—as noted—plunged quickly into the important scene, enlarged and brought into the foreground, and only afterward do we cross the flat fields with their higher mountains beyond, returning to the

⁸¹ It must have been a well-known spot. For example, in 1522 the important statesman Yang I-ch'ing, for whom we shall see Shen Chou doing a painting, also visited it and wrote a description. (136, 37b-40b.)

river whence presumably we came. At the end is a final solid compositional stroke in the firm diagonal of a canal. It runs the height of the scroll and unfolds a brief, quiet panorama of house and boat before reaching the last undefined corner of paper, to be imagined as the flowing of a river.

Color, although conventional, with its warm and cool washes, adds to the loveliness of the whole. Throughout there is an essential feeling of quiet, a subdued mood. With Shen Chou's inventive genius the cave and its strange shapes might well have been turned into a startling and striking drama. Yet the artist is content to let the cave rest where it was, in the heart of great nature. There is little willful exaggeration, and it is such a deeper, entire meaning—not the narrow specifics of the appearance of a style or manner—which suggests that Chang Kung's Cave is late.

In general, Shen Chou seems to be working toward a new kind of expression, trying to find artistic means more compatible with the new ideas and feelings of old age.⁸² We may speculate that his understanding of the transient nature of the scene around him, the essential unreality of physical appearance, became more and more apparent. No longer should a man spend his hours in careful, loving delineation of this physical world. Some swifter means must be found, a quick and direct expression that would strike through the hard crust of illusory fact and reach the truth. This truth may be thought of as being only dimly suggested by the visual world. Hence, the artist cannot be preoccupied with an exact recording of it. Apparently Shen Chou found that for which he was looking in swift, soft, skillful ink recordings of Wu Chen, and largely through this model was able himself to paint freely and deftly that amount of the world he treasured, yet show by the essential shorthand quality of the use of ink—and at times also ephemeral color—that the meaning of life and the transformation that is death, the world that Shen Chou soon would enter, rested far beyond the powers of mere mortal definition.

In a useful, though oversimplified statement, the late Ming critic Li Jih-hua sums up Shen Chou's development:

Shih-t'ien learned to paint from his father and his uncle; then he studied various old masters and knew them all perfectly. In his middle age he chose Huang Kung-wang as his master, but in later years

⁸² In paintings after the turn of the century there is at least something of what appears to be part of the universal phenomenon of creativity, particularly of artists who live long lives: ". . . he may reach a stage where art becomes too easy, or more accurately, where technique becomes a matter of course. If he is a lesser artist he may start to copy himself, like Utrillo or Browning. But the greatest artists (and, if one considers the mental energy expended in their artistic careers, the oldest)—men like Shakespeare, Beethoven, Wagner—will finally turn to sketching at times. They will experiment with short cuts. They will not develop fully again what they had previously brought as near perfection as their powers allowed. . . . It is as if variants on their central ideas were no longer of prime importance or interest to them, but their art—the mere putting into action again of a technique in a mastered medium—remained an inexhaustible joy." (Stauffer, 108, p. 122.)

The nature of Shen Chou's painting in his late years should also be considered in relation to the concept of *ko-yün* or "universal harmony." This is mentioned particularly in a colophon of 1546 following a painting begun by Shen Chou and finished by Wen Cheng-ming. (See *Shih-wen chi*, 93, 10/20b.) The painting now is owned by Mr. H. C. Weng in New York. *Ko-yün* implies an all-over unity, so that if any single part were taken away it would destroy the whole. This stands in contrast to the fine detailed painting of an artist like Ch'iu Ying whose paintings are so much a building-up of tiny parts, an additive process which does not require all the parts in order to give a sense of unity or completeness. (I am particularly indebted to conversations with the scholar and author, Mr. Chiang Yee, for an explanation of this concept.)

he was completely carried away by Mei Tao-jen (Wu Chen). He became quite intoxicated by Wu Chen's art and blended so closely with it, that some of his works could not be distinguished from Wu Chen's if they were mixed up. (104, p. 74.)

This outline of development is clear if one selects certain specific works: the *Retreat* of 1464, the Hayashi album, the Huang Kung-wang style of the early seventies that seems to give a structural foundation for his very classic painting of "middle age." Now we are on the threshold of the Wu Chen manner.

A work that, if "mixed up" with Wu Chen's paintings might pass for one by the Yüan master, is a leaf from an album at least formerly in the collection of Chang Hsüeh-liang (pl. 37, A). A comparison with an album leaf signed with Wu Chen's name shows the obvious closeness to this artist (pl. 37, B). At least in this particular instance, what distinguishes Shen Chou from the model (which is in the Saitō collection) is the Ming artist's insistence on a soft, ordered calm. The ink is not allowed to roam so freely and is as though brushed on a kind of skeleton of vertical and horizontal lines rather than the more ragged angles of Wu Chen. It is soft rather than wet. In its firm organization this style suggests the painting of the eighties; in its softness, the work of the nineties. The style is, moreover, extremely close to a scroll in the Saitō collection (pls. 42, 43, to be discussed below) and dated 1504.

It is both interesting and somewhat puzzling that this painting is to be found as one of 22 leaves of an album that was published some years ago in a rare and limited edition in Japan. A dated colophon accompanies these leaves. The colophon was written in 1482. There is no reason to think of this leaf as a special insertion. It is clear, then, that the "Wu Chen" manner is not a matter of sudden invention in Shen Chou's late years. Its roots may go back several decades. Once again, clear stylistic order is not the package which we can always present in explaining the art of Shen Chou. Once again, we must consider the matter of meaning and artistic intent.

In the colophon is a clue:

I am one who likes to paint landscapes but find it hard to realize the artist's goal of perfection (*sammadhi*). They just are not up to my expectations. So I can only trust the hand as it flicks on the colors, while I live at full-stomached leisure . . . and that's all there is to it. Certainly there is no desire for praise from others.

Mr. Chou Wei-te has been after me a long time about this album. And so sometimes at the rate of one leaf a year, sometimes several in one month, after five years we have finally gathered 22. But Wei-te is very persistent; no sooner are the paintings done than he is after me for a colophon. Faced by such patience, those who (to get a painting) use trickery or force (for quick results) could hardly continue.

However, Wei-te's efforts are surely superfluous. For my paintings don't satisfy me, so how can they satisfy others. They don't satisfy others, and yet he is still after them. What's the sense of that! The irony of a hungry kite after a rotten rat. Please . . . only Wei-te must take the blame. . . .

1482, the intercalary eighth month, on the fifth day. Shen Chou.

In this half-humorous statement of the gifted amateur's approach to painting and his relations with the "patron" we are given an insight into the personal quality of such leaves as these. They are very much "self-expression." In the

ordinary sense they were not painted for others. They were gathered together only over a period of years and clearly only accepted by the artist when he considered them worthy—even if they were not perfect. Indeed, perfection in the obvious sense was not part of Shen Chou's *wen-jen* ideal. The painting must be born more naturally, more automatically, the result of a way of life, not of conscious specialized artistry.

It is from this point of view that we should look at the "Wu Chen" manner. It is a style that can forfeit the necessity to please others, the careful definition of the specific event, the desire to be obviously learned. If, as we shall see, Shen Chou can use it to paint a landscape for an important figure of state (pl. 38, B), this is a clear indication that Shen Chou need bow before no man. He, now, is the eminent one. It is logical to have more of this personal expression from Shen Chou's later years. It is, however, not to be completely excluded from an earlier time.

We have another specific example of a Shen Chou painting associated with the style of Wu Chen (pl. 38, A).⁸⁸ It was at least formerly in a Japanese collection, and on it a colophon dated 1505 says it is in the Wu Chen manner. Clearly the painting must be before this date, but conceivably not long before.

Although whether it is on silk or paper is not published, the scroll is over six feet high, and the size as well as the subject of towering peaks shows us the same class of paintings that in the middle years were to be associated with a formal academic strain—even the name of Tai Chin.

Reasons for thinking this Wu Chen style painting is late are not solely due to the mention of the Yüan artist's name. It has, as well, certain similarities with an even surer "academic" painting that can clearly be dated "late." This is an *Autumn Landscape* from another Japanese collection (pl. 38, B). It is in color on silk and more than five feet high.

As with Shen Chou's picture of his trip to Chang Kung's stalactite cave, at first glance this hanging scroll shows a firmness of execution, a careful selection and placing of individual parts—a mountain peak, a tree, a rock, a hut—that tells of Shen Chou's mature manner. Closer examination modifies our view, and we see that there is a certain easy quality to the ink, often swiftly brushed, coupled with a soft recession of haze or mist in the distance, which tells of later trends in Shen Chou's craft.

This is confirmed in examining a detail from the lower left corner (pl. 39). Although the result is not weakness, individual strokes flow easily, sometimes carelessly, so that the outline of a tree trunk is not absolutely sure, or occasionally the ink spills away from the *ts'un* defining a rock. There is even a suggestion of that horizontal hatching which was so prominent a part of the academic technique in

⁸⁸ There are, however, further indications of the nature of Shen Chou's painting in the style of Wu Chen. A Japanese publication, *Chūgoku* (13), particularly vol. 2, reproduces a great many Shen Chou paintings. From the wallpaper quality of the reproductions it is impossible to give any valid judgments as to authenticity, but we are given a very good idea of design and composition, and some of them reflect the imaginative quality of Shen Chou. An album reproduced here has been recently published by the Peking Government as being now in the Palace Museum.

the 1480 painting of *Hsieh An on East Mountain* (pl. 27, B). But it is only a touch, for we are dealing with a style of a later period.

The autumn painting bears other resemblances to the East Mountain scene. Its silk base is a reminder that the texture of the ink must be judged with this material in mind. There is, however, a more certain proof of its "official" character, for it was done for an important Ming statesman, Yang I-ch'ing. From Shen Chou's inscription at the end of the poem, they seem not to have been personally intimate, but to have exchanged letters:

Although I do not know the Hsien-fu, Sui-an, he has honored me with his letters—so full of refinement—one cannot but read with great respect and long remember. Thus have I "written" these rivers and mountains in autumn color and added a poem to lodge there my feelings.

Sui-an was one of the names of Yang I-ch'ing. Hsien-fu was his title. This, presumably, is the same as Fu-hsien (the characters in reverse) which designates a title of Vice President of the Censorate. Yang I-ch'ing was younger than Shen Chou by 27 years, and he reached this high position only in 1502. Clearly, then, the painting must be dated between this point and the death of Shen Chou seven years later.⁸⁴

Without knowing whether it is on silk or paper, the Wu Chen style painting yet bears a definite relation to the scroll for Yang I-ch'ing. The brush strokes are perhaps a little more sure, and we feel it was not painted so near the end of life. The rest is strikingly similar—the smooth watery texture of the ink, the hills, the filled-in lower right-hand corner, the misty recession at the right, the far line of ink-wash peaks. A detail like the fringe of bamboo along a steep slope may be found in other "late" paintings, like the stalactite grotto (pl. 36) or, as we shall see, a painting in the Saitō collection (pl. 43). It differs from the Tai Chin style painting of 1480 since, by comparison, background in the latter is a relatively hard wall receding in a simple, firm diagonal to the left. One cannot help but notice the soft difference of distance, and that the later far hills are essentially parallel to the picture plane.

Because of the delicate watery use of ink, one feels there is validity in attaching the name Wu Chen to the style of this painting. The variety of ink values have, also, a subtle pictorial importance. But it is Shen Chou in the unmistakable clarity of the towering composition. Each cliff, each plateau, each peak never falters in building up a powerful barrier of mountain scenery that holds trapped the tiny scholar who, wedded to his "reading," is yet even more a part of the great strength of Shen Chou's idea of the cosmos.

This late ink manner of Shen Chou cannot, however, be confined to just an imitation of what is characteristically considered Wu Chen. A painting dated 1499, *Autumn Landscape of T'ung-kuan* (pl. 40, A), while not actually called an

⁸⁴ Giles gives a brief paragraph on the life of Yang I-ch'ing (31, No. 2388, pp. 905-906). In Chinese it becomes a large subject. (See *Ming Biographies*, 72, sect. 5, p. 153.) The *Ming shih*, 198/1b, gives the date of the censorate appointment. The official title is explained in Mayers (62, No. 187). Other factors point to the late date of the relationship between Shen Chou and Yang I-ch'ing. In Ch'ien Lung's collection is record of a Shen Chou painting for this statesman dated 1500. (*Shih-ch'ü*, 89, 34/23b.) Yang I-ch'ing's own writings preserve a colophon in which he tells of the artist's being sick, at least an implication of the infirmity of age (136, poetry section/28b).

"imitation" of Ni Tsan, bears many of the marks of that artist's thin, lonely style. Actually, the painting was inspired by a Yüan work from the brush of Chou Chih, an artist known for his scholarship, but whose painting Shen Chou had not previously seen. The Yüan artist's subject was the scenery of I-hsing, and the Ming painter gives us a view of a famous mountain, T'ung-kuan, in this same I-hsing region. Shen Chou's work was subsequently mounted on the same scroll, and we now have them together. It is well to remember that, as we have seen in the painting of Chang Kung's Cave, Shen Chou was to go to I-hsing in the spring of this very year. But the view of T'ung-kuan was painted only on the seventh day of the new year. It was, thus, clearly inspired by a painting, not by an immediate view of I-hsing itself.

Although it appears sparse and almost of the nature of a sketch, this view of T'ung-kuan merits close analysis. A kind of watery skeleton of the completeness of many earlier paintings, there is yet a sureness that tells us whose hand it is.

The scroll opens with three trees and then another, and in the middle distance they are echoed by two small bare clumps. That is all we are shown of trunk and branch in the whole scroll. Moreover, their substantiality is always in question as lightly flecked strokes of the brush define branch or twig. Nor is twig necessarily joined to branch or branch to trunk. They are often almost like scattered leaves. But what is unsubstantial is not weak, and the sketch holds firmly together. We only view it less as tree and more as the skilled scattering of ink.

The same could be said of the sparseness of the *ts'un* or the sometimes jagged washes that are the far mist-belted mountains. Even in this brevity is given, as often in Shen Chou, an almost tangible, concrete quality to the mists. One notes, too, how the pepper-dot strokes, now in horizontal slashes, carry their firm dark leitmotif over the whole surface of the scroll. In the solid flat-topped hill is a shape that must have been characteristic of the scenery, since it is found in Chou Chih's painting as well. With Shen Chou it dominates the center of the composition, and one detects a skeleton of the old firmness rising as it does above the empty pavilion—a patent contrast between what is man's and what is nature's. Finally, is the distance at the left into which we are carried by interlocking horizontal washes, a kind of careful freedom which takes us back—but not too far, for we are brought up by near headlands and the ghost of a farmer's hut.

In 1504 Shen Chou did another painting in the style of Ni Tsan (pl. 41, A). Most recently it has been listed in the Yamamoto collection in Tōkyō. There is much to link this work with the autumn scenery of T'ung-kuan—trees, rocks, horizontal promontories or shadows, pepper dots, far mountains. Holding it all together is the typical ordered quality of the composition—a series of vertical and horizontal lines ultimately backed by a screen of hills in ink wash. This is in accord with Shen Chou's now well-recognized penchant for clarity as seen at its boldest in pictures like the Boston *Moon* scroll or the Freer *Joy of Fishing*. As an imitation of Ni Tsan it lacks the preciousness of the delicate 1466 scroll in Chicago, and it does not have the same firm detail as the Kansas City picture of 1484. Like the work of 1499, a sketchy quality is apparent, and in a subtle way we are aware

of the moist ink. Shen Chou's strength could hardly be held within the precious aesthetic of Ni Tsan.

This does not capture the crisp jewel-like quality of Ni Tsan, but something of the Yüan artist's loneliness is here. It is a painting which looks back and is full of memory. It was done for the grandson of an old friend, Hsieh Fu, for whom Shen Chou had once, in 1474, done a painting, a painting subsequently lost. The grandson, Hsieh Chin, a painter in his own right,⁸⁵ remembered as well a series of parallel-rhyming poems written by Shen Chou and his friends—friends now dead; and so for a grandson who did not forget his grandfather's noble character Shen Chou did this painting. He says of his friends:

Now all have passed on. To write this for them is almost more than I can bear.

We know something of his appearance and the poetry of his feelings coming from just two years later (see frontispiece). Here, already, in this empty painting one cannot escape the sense of an old and lonely man pausing for his own farewell and in dim, quiet longing, seeking across great gray spaces some pale and distant shore.

Another painting in the style of Ni Tsan (pl. 41, B) is undated and placed by Sirén in Shen Chou's early period, for it is a small painting and seems to agree with that early aesthetic (104, p. 77, pl. 50). I prefer, however, to call it a late work. In a sense, in Shen Chou's late years there is a kind of return to some of his earlier forms. Particularly, Shen Chou is not averse to a greater use of diagonals in his compositions. If one detects here a softness, it is not so much that of the powdery haze in early miniature works as it is the sparse use of moist washes. Certainly it is more difficult to reconcile this painting with the Chicago Ni Tsan style of 1466 than with the Yamamoto painting of 1504. The loneliness, so easy to find in Ni Tsan and in an old artist's heart, is here, too, for as the poem tells, his search for Ni Tsan is met only by the endless passage of the clouds.

These suggestions of Shen Chou's late style are substantiated by two more works which fortunately are dated. One of these is a small scroll of 1500 in Stockholm, *River in Autumn* (pl. 40, B) and another, a longer scroll, in the Saitō collection in Japan, *Clouds over the River before Rain*, dated 1504 (pl. 42, 43).

The Stockholm picture is likewise a river scene and has a colophon by a young friend and later a pupil of Wen Cheng-ming, Ch'en Shun (Tao-fu). This statement by Ch'en Shun is brushed in swift grass characters and as such is in complete accord with the sketchy quality of the painting it accompanies.

It bears an obvious relation to the little sketch of 1492 in Peking. In particular one notes that whereas the essential motifs such as rock and tree and house are similar to earlier Shen Chou's and the strokes that define them are not really

⁸⁵ Hsieh Fu seems to have been the grandfather. He was a *chin shih* in the Cheng T'ung period (1436-1450). One of his names was Shou-cho. (*Jen-ming*, 16, p. 1683.) Following Shen Chou's writings it seems possible to enlarge it to Shou-cho-mi-weng. His grandson was a painter of note. (See 15, p. 704, and *Jen-ming*, 16, p. 1684.) His name could be written with either of two characters (see Index). Waley (128, p. 35) maintains that these two names indicate two different people. There is another mention of the grandson in Shen Chou's writings under another of his names, Tieh-shan. (*Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, ch'i yen lü, 1/11a-b.)

new, there is a haste, born of the sureness of long familiarity, that causes them to be brushed in brief rather than in full. If one thinks back to the packed landscape of 1479 which Shen Chou painted for the departing Wu K'uan, one can understand the difference. The hemp-fiber strokes or broken-belt strokes only touch the paper at the most salient points, leaving the majority of the rock surface light and untouched. On the other hand, the broken brush dots, the pepper dots, the foliage of the trees are given a fused quality so that at times they appear almost as washes. They are, however, not strictly washes, as one never escapes the underlying strength of the structure of individual strokes, for these areas of foliage are most certainly built up this way. Finally, the far mountains are not the same calm backdrops as noted in earlier works, as, for example, the Boston album. Here they take on a kind of jagged, saw-toothed outline, leading us in a swiftly brushed staccato rhythm into the far distance. The direction of these mountains points up a fact we have noted before in Shen Chou (1479 Wu K'uan scroll, 1491 Freer scroll, Chang Kung's cave of 1499)—that movement, or meaning, or direction of figures often moves from left to right. Movement is not necessarily confined to following the direction of the unrolling of the scroll which goes from right to left.

It is worth noting here a characteristic of almost all great ink paintings, the great variety in the handling of ink value, from the slightly grayed surface of the paper to the deepest spot of pure jet black. That such variety is possible certainly must have been what really attracted the Chinese artist to this apparently very simple medium. In the hands of a skillful artist, ink is of the utmost pictorial value in the recording of shape and texture. One aspect in the treatment of ink Shen Chou had long used, but here it is particularly apparent. This is the essential pattern created by the darkest spots of ink. Here it seems almost to represent a kind of skeleton of structure. This is at once a pattern across the surface and at the same time a means of tying the foreground to the distance. In this sense, once noticed, the far jet-black peak that appears in a distant fold of the hills is an anchor and a focus for all the black washes in the foreground and the end point of a direction which is indicated by the whole composition. Clearly the foreground of the painting moves slowly and solidly from right to left. But by means of the gentle bending of trees at the end of the picture and the great curving tower of rock which turns back and leads the eye to the jagged background peaks, we are brought around to another direction, and in swifter rhythm, sharper and more abrupt, we are carried to that strange dark spot that lies far, far away.

Despite a sketchy appearance, this river scene in Stockholm is based on a clear and careful logic. But, however interesting the organization, it appears strangely cold and unmoving in contrast to the wonderful mood of river and rain that is found in the Saitō scroll of four years later (pls. 42, 43).

The scroll opens quietly (pl. 42, A); a calm is conveyed both by the delicacy of the washes, as on the far disappearing hills, and by the unmoving horizontal lines that define the spits of land bordering the river. On a foreground point grow the delicate, still, vertical lines of China's common river grass, *lu ts'ao*. Two skiffs, hugging the river, are anchored by their poles (stuck through a hole

in the boat until they grip the river bottom). There is no sign of human life. There is no sense of movement.

This leads us to tree and rock and to the sketched edges of a grass roof which lies hidden among them or, if you will, obscured in the patterns of wet ink that surround it. Here two of the trees bend over at a violent angle, not, however, bent by the movement of this painting but leaning from the struggles of the years that have gone before. The wet leaves hang down, motionless, waiting. These rocks are basically rocks we have seen before (Freer river scene) but here defined only in touches. The washes, abbreviated suggestions of the brush, have not dissolved the essential structure that earlier in Shen Chou's life was constructed in more careful detail.

Again the scroll opens up briefly to show more of the river and two simple houses. As the river takes us into the distance, we continue to read the artist's intent. No matter how faint, we still see mist and fading foliage and know which peak or headland lies in front and which falls back.

Once again we have the river, here in a horizontal passage which extends for some length as we unroll the scroll. The first figure appears, huddled on the stern of his boat, hidden beneath his hat and the grass raincoat draped over his shoulders, sending the thin notes of a flute into the quiet air (pl. 42, B). A strong mountain is a kind of compound of traces of hemp-fiber brush strokes and the free dotting of *Mi-tien ts'un* (61, 212), those horizontal strokes on the hills invented by the Sung great, Mi Fei. Here in the foreground there is a wonderful variety in the brushing of the trees, and the foliage of wet ink gives way to the delicate weeping lines of the willow and then the cracking branches of a tiny twig-filled tree (pl. 42, C). And the thin horizontal lines toward the base of the picture—the anchored skiff, the bank, the low plateaus—these give a simple, strong grandeur, a base from which the trees may grow.

Suddenly the river is gone and we are plunged into the middle of a high cliff (pl. 42, D). The scenery is mountain scenery. A looping waterfall sweeps downward. The tempo of the scroll changes in the direction of greater tension. The mountain is cut off so that we never see its peak, but there is a tremendous, almost harsh, strength to the base that we do see, and inevitably we feel it towers to great heights. This tension, this strength is conveyed by a subtle change in the nature of the brush strokes. The rocks are hewed of small axe strokes (61, 227). The trees are represented as snapping twigs. The leaves are given firm outlines, or where they are conveyed by wash, the wash is a deep, strong black.

We come down from the heights again to the river where there is a little empty village (pl. 43, A). A banner on a pole hangs before one roof. This is a wine shop. Wine, too, may carry us to the far places that lie behind distant mountains and the fading veils of mist.

The village continues, half hidden (pl. 43, B). We come to a simple bridge being crossed by a lone traveler, the second and last human in this world of river and hill and tree. We come to three stately pines, the only pines in the whole scroll, pines which in season and out stand for that which remains eternally green, endur-

ing through the ages. They stand, too, for the great man (see footnote 27). But here there can be only a hint of that idea, so dwarfed is man, so vast and all-pervading is the spirit of the cosmos. The fisherman sits on the stern of his floating skiff, facing back whence he has come. Here the traveler, a tense, enigmatic shape, walks in the direction of the village, counter to the movement of the scroll as we unroll it. Since we have seen this kind of human direction before in Shen Chou, it is difficult to escape the essential meaning of man's tiny struggle against the stream of the world, of the struggle not to let go, to remain and keep forever within his separate consciousness beauty of hill and mist and the heavy leaves quietly awaiting the rain. Tragedy, if you will, this hopeless struggle against time, against the force that as inevitably as rivers seek the sea, sweeps man with it. However, the struggle is really a minor one. The drama is swallowed in its surroundings. For man there is a sorrow, the sorrow that comes in every farewell. And yet, because man, too, may become an integral part of the strength that lies in the cosmos, there is to the inevitable end a kind of triumph.

We feel this here in the very beauty and mastery of what the artist has chosen to say and the way he has said it. The end of the scroll is an almost abstract statement of the strength of life and of ultimate departure and dissolution (pl. 43, C, D). We are first given the vibrant, crackling, almost jazzy form of a tree and the wonderful staccato touches of bamboo that beard the simple empty line of a hill—bamboo which is eternally alive and green, bamboo in whose groves Shen Chou built his own dwelling. Then we come to the heavy-hanging still weight of leaves, masking human habitation, backed by the line of mountains, fading in a mist of only the softest and most delicate of washes. The trees are waiting, waiting for the rain, and beyond that, waiting for the end. But there is no obvious fading into complete oblivion. The last stroke on the paper, a line on a foreground hill, is strong, firm, and black. Both Shen Chou's love of the world and, as an artist, his controlling sense of the structure of a painting, its positive concrete definition, seem to prevent the use of some vague cliché of blankness. There is a final statement, like a signboard, in Shen Chou's strong calligraphy, of title, date, and artist.

At this point we are left to think of the unexpressed, not so much by what is in the painting itself—this is definite enough—but by the implications of the river flowing onward before our eyes, beyond the edge of the painting and to some invisible sea, and the memory of that river as we have seen it waiting expectantly for its replenishment in the falling of new rain.

VIII. BIRDS AND FLOWERS

It would perhaps be correct to say that for mankind in almost all places and all times birds have presented the mind with a peculiar fascination and as such are an ever-recurring and universal theme in religion and song, in word or paint or stone. Perhaps at the center of this wonder, which at its deepest, is a feeling of awe before the miraculous, rests a kind of "otherness"—the sense of life existing beyond our own life, seemingly untouched by it, living according to a law of its own, following the seasons, the rhythm of the cosmos; and because it follows laws that are not of man's possessing, indicating to man the greatest power, the most secret of the mysteries. Possessed of a higher life, birds are to be worshiped and in religions are the gods themselves, or the messengers of the gods.⁸⁶

In a more naturalistic sphere they are seen for what they are to the eye: their beauty of color, their lightness, their frailty. More, they present a wondrous untouchability which serves to stir in the poet, the lover of the natural world, both a reverence and a longing. Out of this grows a kind of identification, and the artist, the poet, the philosopher may see himself winging free and pure—in a very specific Chinese context, like a crane—above the ordinary and petty facts of life, or huddled lonely in the snow and cold—as we shall see below on a Shen Chou painting—a neglected spirit for whom no man, no thing, really cares. Beyond this—something that distinguishes them from other living things in nature—birds can sing.

The Chinese are then no exception to man's universal devotion to birds. In Chinese history there are countless references both to the actual and to those strange birds of the inner mind that form part of Chinese mythology. Li Po, for example, was offered a kind of waiving of the requirements of preliminary examination, a special trip to the capital, because of his ability to converse with the birds.⁸⁷ By the time of the Ming dynasty and the late fifteenth century when Shen Chou was painting and writing, a naturalistic view had long been dominant. Birds were distinctly to be represented as they were, a kind of realism which was elevated to particular heights by the Sung Academy. The greatest surviving examples of this live for us in the rare works of the famous Sung emperor Hui Tsung.⁸⁸ It was so important at this time as to be definitely classified as a category of painting, a

⁸⁶ Cf. the view of birds and animals in Egypt: "... the falcon floating in the sky with no more apparent motive power than the sun; the jackal flitting ghostlike along the margin of the desert; the crocodile lurking lumplike on the mudflats; or the powerful bull in whom was the seed of procreation. These beasts were forces going beyond the normality of the landscape . . . They, therefore, took on high relief in the scene and were believed to be vested with mysterious or inscrutable force related to an extra-human world." (Frankfort and others, 29, p. 40.)

⁸⁷ Waley (131, p. 5): "For several years, I never set foot in any town. I kept thousands of rare birds who came and ate out of my hand when I called to them, without any trace of fear or suspicion. The Governor of Kuang-han (on the way from his home to Ch'engtu) heard about us and came to have a look at us in our hut. He afterwards offered to send us to the capital as "persons of unusual capacity," but we did not accept."

⁸⁸ For the most recent general discussion of bird and flower painting see Rowland, 78. For Hui Tsung, see Rowland, 77 and 79.

category which included flowers as well and added the more delicate aspects of the tiny things in nature—grasses and insects.

To understand this particular department of the art of painting, it is perhaps informative to set it against its antithesis as represented by a comment attached to Ch'en Jung's powerful Dragon Scroll in the Boston Museum, the substance of which declares: Why waste one's time on insignificant minutiae like grasses and insects when one can sweep to the truth with Ch'en Jung's grandeur?⁸⁹ The Dragon Scroll, by its fierce splashes into the great, the powerful, the awesome, stands at the opposite end of the scale from that of the quiet, tender brushing of a feather, a petal, or a tiny insect.

It is entirely fitting that Shen Chou's work as a painter of birds and flowers—which I will expand to include other separate living things in nature: fruits, the portrait of a tree, a crab—should be treated separately.

This is so partly because it is a traditional category in Chinese art criticism, but also because of our interest in the historical development, or the historical changes, in Shen Chou's pictorial expression. Shen Chou's scrolls of these small subjects show qualities that roughly parallel those indicated by an analysis of his painting of landscape. They help confirm the fact that time brought changes to the way Shen Chou painted, but they also show that these changes cannot be too tightly pigeonholed into absolute temporal categories. A painting showing a rather free use of ink may come in the eighties and not have to wait to the last years of his life for the Wu Chen manner of wet ink. A painting of 1500 may present certain strong, dry qualities which would tempt us to consider an earlier time were we not checked by the artist's own date recorded in the upper corner. There is an allover pattern of stylistic change which is generally reliable, but there can be no final categorical placing of undated works.

Shen Chou, to some extent to his contemporaries, most certainly to later generations, was the embodiment of the ideal of the educated man. He was important not as an official, not as a priest, but as Shen Chou. There surely were hundreds, thousands, of other "Shen Chou's" living the "retired" life. But this one has survived for his time and place as no other. With this claim to universality it was natural that he should include the painting of birds and flowers among his accomplishments.

One of the great delights of living, as we have already suggested, was meeting and visiting with one's friends. One of the great sorrows was parting. Somehow this leaving, however apparently casual, took something from a man, just as meeting added something to enrich his life. These small partings were each a kind of tragic drama, reminding one of the very frail and temporary quality of life which could have no permanent hold on the world. However a man might struggle to

⁸⁹ Tseng, 122a, p. 21. The translation reads:

"When (the dragon spirit) appears it sweeps away stupidity.
How can people constantly play with colors;
And waste away their energy painting grasses and insects?"

The colophon was written by Chang Chu (1287-1368).

hold onto the things he loved, particularly the joy of being with one's friends, some uncontrollable fate pressed one to the inevitable, to the tragic parting, and man must leave his friend, his home, his world, for the end is always parting.

It is against such a background as this that one must see the endlessly recurring theme of leavetaking in Chinese poetry. Shen Chou is no exception. But being a painter, he is also able to add to it the art of painting. Since meetings with friends were often casual and momentary, the rather quick delineation of some small subject was often the most suitable way of recording such a brief encounter, a meeting which perhaps might never occur again, but which could be preserved for the mind and the eye in a small living thing transformed into a painting. Such a scroll is one done in 1475 and now preserved in Kansas City (pl. 44, A).

The genesis of the Kansas City painting is simple and clear. Shen Chou, who was then, by Chinese reckoning, 49, met an elderly friend, Yü Wei-chai, who called himself picturesquely and with strong Taoist leanings, "Old Man Who Ploughs the Clouds." They had not seen each other for 10 years. The day was a feast day, the fifth of the fifth month. And so they sat and drank wine in an island garden noted for its flowers. Wei-chai's son was also there as a companion for his elderly father. They sat and discussed old times as men had so sat in China at least as long ago as the heroic days of the Tso Chuan.⁹⁰ The flowers near them were the tall stalks of the rose mallow "under" which they reminisced. Shen Chou painted them to preserve the joy of this fleeting day.

The painting is this kind of informal work. Much of Shen Chou's painting was. But this does not prevent us from observing certain characteristics that explain the nature of Shen Chou's art. When discussing Shen Chou's landscapes, we have already seen his earliest dated "bird and flower" effort, a painting so large and ambitious in its scope as to be a kind of landscape (pl. 10, B). Like the early landscape, *Towering Mount Lu*, it reflects an interest in the grand, a combining of much detail, a strong dependence on a certain ancient model, and finally a compositional quality that was clearly part of Shen Chou's own time.

In the period of the seventies and eighties we have noted Shen Chou developing more and more a unique personal expression. This was particularly characterized by an unmistakable clarity. Detail is eliminated in favor of fewer yet stronger and more telling lines. Lines stand clear and are not fused together. Washes are limiting sheets of curtain, rather than an excuse for some hazy distance. Composition subordinates the emphasis on diagonal to a rectangular structure that stresses the vertical and horizontal.

The *Rose Mallow* of 1475 is an affirmation of this trend. There is a relation to earlier work. One notes the tight little block of calligraphy. The soft, careful washes of the leaves may be compared to the washes that define the leaves on the Dubosc painting of 1468. In blossom, bud, and leaf there is an interest in detail. But I doubt that this should be attributed so much to stylistic change or lack of change as it should to the inherent quality of the fragile subject portrayed. The

⁹⁰ Such an allusion is made in the inscription on the painting.

lower part of the painting is treated in a kind of careless fashion—a few flat washes of ground and grass and some dry, twisting wash for the rock, which in no sense is the creation of careful detailed *ts'un*, as are the rocks of *Towering Mount Lu*.

The whole is to be seen as an allover structure, an order composed essentially of vertical and horizontal lines. The prevailing convention was to present this sort of miniature landscape on a slanting triangle of land or to level it with balancing angles of hillside and fill the whole with careful detail (pl. 10, A).⁹¹ Shen Chou still relies on this convention (one must remember diagonals in landscape work of this period), but he de-emphasizes it as much as possible. There is only a leveled-out line of pale wash allowing full concentration on the importance of the main vertical lines of rock and flower stalks. It is not thought of in depth. It is merely a shallow platform, and we go straight to the point: the soft green washes of leaves stirring in the summer breeze and the fine fragile rose of the blossoms in which there is still much promise, for the buds are many. Perhaps, at least for us, the wish of the artist in the poem may be fulfilled and someone yet may see these blossoms for “three hundred cycles,” or 18,000 years.

At least formerly in a private collection in China is another dated painting, this of nine years later, 1484, *Peach Blossoms and Young Geese* (pl. 44, B). This again is a slight work. Most of these paintings are. This was done, however, not because of a friend, but essentially because, as he declares in the inscription, he “enjoyed”⁹² it. It is very much an example of the joy of spontaneous creation. Nor should we be completely deceived by the offhand quality, because a lifetime of skill entered into these few minutes of brushwork. The implications of the technique go far deeper than appears in this rather easy painting. Similarly the meaning is not just a matter of a few goslings under an old tree. The real joy and meaning, in so far as this picture can tell us, lies in the poet's perception of the mystery of quickened life that comes in the spring to the most commonplace of things.

Young geese are the yellow of wine
And so I cherish these new geese.

Thus read 10 characters of explanation. Since this is so direct and personal a painting, perhaps it is accurate to say that the old gnarled peach is the artist himself, now almost 60 years old, sensing at the close of the third month of the year the wonderful rising of new life that comes with the pink blossoms of the peach, looking down as it (or he) does on the soft yellow wine which holds its own mysterious power to quicken the pulse, or on the yellow geese, with which the yellow wine is equated in the inscription—the freshly hatched goslings that at this season of the year are waddling around every farmstead in South China.

From our analysis of landscape painting, the soft, watery handling of the ink might suggest a later date. Certainly there are analogies to the quiet stirring of

⁹¹ See also *Pageant*, 32, Wang Yüan, 302, 303; Kuan Tao-sheng, 266. It must be admitted, however, that there is at least one example—by Ni Tsan—that presents a horizontal “stage” (*Archives*, 20, p. 49, fig. 3); or in landscape (*Ku-kung*, 47, vol. 19.) This is again to emphasize the very great difficulty in relying too heavily on composition as a means of determining historical classification.

⁹² This is clearly implied in the word *hsi*, which perhaps should be more directly translated “for amusement.”

spring in the Freer scroll of 1491. It serves as a warning that one cannot bind Shen Chou's work into bundles that are too neat. But the general direction of his art is apparent. For here, as with so many other works in this general period, we are presented with a stagelike composition organized principally in verticals and horizontals. Shen Chou has completely dropped the idea of an angular base, and the platform of grass and flower ends just behind the tree. In keeping with the way he painted the Kansas City *Rose Mallow*, this stage is done with deliberate understatement, in soft melting washes so that one is left to concentrate on the essential purpose of the painting—the fineness of new yellow down on the young geese and the black, cracked bark of the old tree. There is a telling contrast, too, in the shapes of the two principles—knotted, bent, and twisted age and the even, firm stance of something completely young and new. To the fresh (one is tempted to say) innocence of the slightly awkward goslings is given a marvelous rhythm through the ordering of the heads and the intense fascination which grows from the wide beady eyes, a succession of accents recalling how prone was Shen Chou to pattern his landscapes with spots of black ink.

Undated, and yet apparently to be considered in the period of the eighties, is a portrait of two maples on the banks of his own Suchou River, the Wu or Wu-sung, whipped by the autumn wind (pl. 45, A). One might consider it a landscape, and yet this kind of portrait of a growing thing can also appropriately be mentioned here, at the same time reminding one of Shen Chou's landscape art whose development we are paralleling in terms of these smaller subjects. It should be seen, too, within the context of Shen Chou's view of the relative immortality of trees. So when he painted the *Catalpa Trees* (pl. 20, C), he saw them remaining stable and unmoved through the quick changes of the seasons, a view which can be seen again in the line of a poem: "The maple is old, but the leaves again are young." (93, 5/13a.) Here, then, the falling of the autumn leaves into the cold river is only incidental to the enduring life of these bent maples, just as the seasons themselves are only incidental manifestations of the lasting power of the cosmos.

This painting should be contrasted with the bird and flower landscape of 1468 (pl. 10, B). Immediately one is aware that the maples are ordered according to a desire for the vertical and horizontal. Curve and diagonal are minor rather than major accents. Line is strong and sure. Certainly it does not fit into our analysis of early paintings. It has not yet reached that style of free-flowing ink of works in the late manner of Wu Chen.

As a very slight sketch, and reminiscent of a landscape note such as that of 1492 in the Palace Museum (pl. 33, B), is a poem and a brief recording of a pair of returning swallows (Cat. XXIX). It was painted in the autumn of 1488. The strong branch in the lower left is an accent which offsets the diagonal movement of the two birds on a slender willow spray and gives a characteristic Shen Chou solidity. Above the "flock" of birds and the willow is the square of the paper devoted to the poem. In a rather sketchy fashion Shen Chou follows characteristic principles.

Dated in the following year, 1489, is a small scroll owned by a private col-

lector in New York (pl. 45, B). It is of a *Rose Mallow and Pine*, and was painted to console a friend for his failure in the examinations. It is a combination of something fragile like a blossom and something enduring like a pine.

It is hard to surpass this painting for the brevity of its loveliness. The scroll is able to say so much, so simply: the cold strength of the uncolored pine, its crisp needles, its cracked, bent, lichen-grown trunk, the fresh gray-green of the flower's leaves, and the soft rose of the bloom.

It is also a contrast in technique—the brushwork, or “bones,” that creates the pine, the “boneless” swift washes that are appropriate to the brief life of a late summer flower. Moreover, the painting is completely alive. One feels the very growth of the rose mallow, a very literal opening up, as one passes along the tender line of the stem, through the unfolding of leaf and blossom, to the final rose-tipped buds, which by the very nature of what we have seen so swiftly yet surely opened out are filled with the taut life of something yet to come.

We are then at the last—as often in Shen Chou's landscape scrolls—turned back to the heart of the painting. Here idea and composition are intimately linked. The buds remind us of the flower, and the eye is brought to it by the strong cluster of pine needles above and the important rose of its petals. There is no escaping the sureness of this tiny bit of worldly beauty, and the important emptiness of the paper only emphasizes its clean quiet.

Another scroll, undated, yet showing some of the same qualities of skill, is the *Pomegranate and Melon Vine* in Detroit (pl. 46, A). It is marked by the soft certainty of the washes, the delicate color, a brushwork which is beautifully controlled, so that it is heavy for the main stalk of the pomegranate tree, yet transforms itself to the tiniest and most brittle of spiky twigs or the soft curving tendrils of the vine. We can once again point out a very classic composition where the tiny rectangle of the fruit is a firm, subtle color accent to decorate, as in a medieval manuscript, the tremendous block of sweeping grass characters brushed by Shen Chou's friend, Wang Ao.

Wang Ao's poem tells the whole meaning of the scroll. It was a kind of talisman, a propitiary offering for the birth of a son to one long denied this blessing, to be presented to a mutual friend, Wu Chün-hung (Hsiu). Although he added two seals, Shen Chou never signed this painting. He must have felt it unnecessary. His characters would only have interfered with Wang Ao's art. At any rate, Wang Ao mentions him as the painter, and there is no doubt.

As a symbol of fecundity the subject is traditionally correct. The seeds of the pomegranate in their numbers and richness stand for the seeds of the human race, for the multiplication of sons to swell a family's greatness. To show this clearly, Shen Chou has taken certain liberties with nature by leaving open a section of one of the two pomegranates to give us the sure sight of swelling, bursting multiplicity. The melon is the *ssü-kua*.⁹³ Foreign to the West, it presents in the early fall a continual succession of fruits, appearing one after the other on a swiftly growing vine.

⁹³ Extremely common in China today. For description see *Tz'ü hai*, 124, wei/81. Here it is called *Luffa cylindrica*. The symbolism is made clear in the poem.

The melon may either be eaten when it is young and tender or allowed to grow old and wither, in which case the core becomes a network of dry fibers that then serve the housewife as a scouring pad.

Here, however, we are interested in the *ssŭ-kua* as a sign of perpetually maturing growth, and Shen Chou paints it in various stages of development. The whole sense of growth arriving at a late season and in profusion is everywhere apparent, so packed are the leaves, the fruits, the fading blossoms, the leafless twigs. Shen Chou has clearly manipulated his subject to fit a didactic theme. Melon vines are not usually grown over pomegranate trees. But he has so infused the picture with soft, swelling movement against the background of a dry old branch that we are captivated by the naturalness of life and growth, young leaves and twisting tendrils stirring in the soft breeze, reaching for the late warm sun.

Probably relatively far along in Shen Chou's life (tentatively I would suggest no earlier than the nineties) is a winter scene whose heart is the huddled form of a turtledove perched upon a snow-buried banana tree (pl. 46, B). Now in Honolulu, this theme of tropical growth caught in the hard cold is one which goes back to the T'ang artist, Wang Wei.⁹⁴ Shen Chou himself talked about it as a Wang Wei theme in a poem entitled "Banana Tree in the Snow" (91, *ch'i yen lü*, 3/18a). The effort is to stretch to the breaking point the sense of poignant loneliness and incompatibility. But there are other inhabitants of the scene: bamboo, white camellias, low shrubs with red berries, and grasses, and at the foot of the banana tree two more birds: a white and sand-brown turtledove and a white pigeon.

One is impressed by the vigor of the brushwork, a rugged quality which is unique among Shen Chou's bird and flower paintings. It recalls something of that strange eccentric Shih Chung with whom Shen Chou was acquainted. We know his work from a scroll in the Boston Museum of Art, but by comparison Shen Chou is calm and controlled. After all it is a large picture—over 5 feet high—and vigorous work was necessary to fill it. Moreover, it is in color. Its composition is a fundamental ordering of main vertical and horizontal elements. The stage of land is present and yet, in keeping with Shen Chou's manner, de-emphasized so that the main interest is above it where the lonely turtledove huddles over the snowy banana leaves. Actually, the puffed-out silhouette of this bird is as traditional as the snowy tropical tree and can be seen in a painting bearing the signature of the early Yüan artist, Ch'ien Hsüan (78, pl. VII, and 68, p. 315, fig. 7). But the painting gives us the unmistakable poetry of Shen Chou in the sure manner of his late mature years.

Gustav Ecke, who knows the painting well, describes it:

The dark background is obtained in the traditional way through profuse ink-washing, the snow being represented by the white paper. The rendering of the material motifs is delicately accurate and pure, the bulky stem indicated in strokes both strong and fugitive which enclose a substance that is strangely unreal. Wherever a natural chance of displaying the power of the wrist is offered, Shen has splashed ink and color almost with vehemence. Thus the treatment of the rock's surface and outlines is bold and suggestive, while in the weathered banana leaves four successive layers of forcible brush-

⁹⁴ Hirth, 33, pp. 84-85. Following p. 76 is a "copy" of this famous work by Tao Chi.

strokes, in inky brown, reddish yellow, light blue and deep black reveal the spirit of the unfettered *wen-jen*. (26, p. 574.)

There are several other surely late paintings by Shen Chou that come within the sphere of this subject matter. One is an album from the Palace collection on Formosa inscribed and dated 1494 (pl. 49, A, B). Another is a *Hai-t'ang Branch* in the Saitō collection (pl. 47, A). It is dated 1500. A third is a small composition of 1502 in the same Palace collection as the first, and is the closest that Shen Chou comes to a western "still life." The main object in this is a *Chrysanthemum in a Vase* (pl. 49, C).

The album is of things taken from life. Several leaves and the inscription have been reproduced in Chinese publications. There is an exact, brief characterization that speaks of Shen Chou's skill: the rather awkward, long-eared stubbornness of a donkey (pl. 49, A), the circular contentment of a cat that is a mere round globe broken only by the deft sketch of forepaws and accented by features staring from within the inky ball, or the full, moist platform of a lotus leaf, inhabited by a slippery frog, behind which is the light outline of a lotus blossom (pl. 49, B).

This sort of painting was not to be taken too seriously. The album inscription explains:

I brushed this album for fun, painting things as they looked ⁹⁵ just to go with my leisurely and well-fed delight. But if you're looking for me in this painting, I'm somewhere else.

The painting of 1500 (pl. 47, A) was done for a friend, Lu Ju-ch'i, who was an enthusiastic collector of Shen Chou's work. Wu K'uan has an interesting account of this scholar, who, though he obviously pounced eagerly on every Shen Chou painting he could find, never allowed his conduct to pass beyond the limits of the truly honest and virtuous. This was in marked contrast to others who, taking advantage of Shen Chou's enthusiasm for the mysterious and the strange, often fabricated wild tales in order to inspire the now famous artist to brush a painting, which would then, of course, become their own valued possession. Scorning these lesser means, Lu Ju-ch'i had in a pure and honest fashion assembled well over a hundred of Shen Chou's works (93, 10/13a).

The nature of Lu Ju-ch'i's honest approach is indicated by the painting of 1500. Its inscription reads:

1500. On a spring day; at the hut of the priest, Shuang Wo. I noticed the *hai-t'ang* blossoms had opened. It happened that Lu Ju-ch'i was sitting there and he asked me to paint this picture as a reminder of our delight.

Lu Ju-ch'i's strategic maneuvers are at least partial testimony to the fact of Shen Chou's fame which by now in these closing years of a long life must have been considerable.

⁹⁵ *Sui-wu fu-hsing* seems to be an equivalent of the earlier term *hsieh-sheng*, "draw life," that is familiar in describing the works of the earliest masters of this type of painting—men like Huang Ch'uan and Chao Ch'ang (Rowland, 79, p. 7). At least by the time of the great seventeenth-century compendium, *The Mustard Seed Garden*, *hsieh-sheng* meant the type of life painting that was done completely in "boneless" or free washes (Petrucchi, 44, p. 456). This is exactly the sort of painting in this Shen Chou album. The terms used in Shen Chou's phrase are the ones employed in discussing the nature of "things" in the long description of a *Night Vigil* in 1492. *Wu* is there translated "thing," *hsing*, as "appearance."

From the viewpoint of history, the painting of 1500 indicates how difficult it is on the basis of style alone to judge the changes in the development of a Chinese artist's personality. From the reproduction the *Hai-t'ang Branch* seems to be rendered in a rather firm, almost dry manner, and suggests, as did the stalactite cave landscape of 1499, his mature rather than late years. Actually these rather detailed qualities of execution may be laid at the door of the traditional character of the subject, for the broken branch was a common theme. We can see it, for example, in a beautiful composition signed by T'ang Yin in the Abe collection (pl. 47, B; 105, vol. II, 3, pl. 51). Just as the more traditional paintings of his landscape subjects seemed to retain qualities of earlier works, so, too, we feel here that the broken *Hai-t'ang Branch* holds more of tradition and less of his own personal qualities.

Much of the same could be said of an undated scroll, *Four Stages of the Prunus* (pl. 48) at least formerly in a Chinese collection. As the title implies, the prunus, or plum, now the national flower of China, is painted (a) as bare branch, (b) as blossoms beginning to open, (c) in full bloom, (d) with falling petals. It follows a composition by a Sung painter, Yang Pu-chih, whose works of this kind seem not to have survived. It is in direct imitation of the antique, and at first glance appears delicate enough to be an early painting. Yet there is little to distinguish the plum from the style of the *Hai-t'ang* painting, particularly in the final stages, so that lacking further evidence it is appropriate to consider it here.

Certainly the execution, the very brushwork, is to be praised. Of equal interest is the subtle sense of movement throughout—the act of growth from crisp thin beginnings to the obviously more ancient branch subtly made heavier, more curved, knotted and splintered, with reference in stalk, as well as falling blossom, to the sure, hard hand of time.

Nor in composition can one overlook the fact that whereas the first stage reaches ahead toward the body of the scroll as one unrolls it, the last stage turns to the right, away from the end, reaching back to affirm what has passed. This is exactly what is found in many of Shen Chou's landscape scrolls. Perhaps, then, both in composition and idea there is something more personal here than at first meets the eye.

Freer in its application of ink wash and yet extremely firm of structure is the still life of 1502 (pl. 49, C). The somewhat "stuttering" line was used as far back as 1491 where we noted it in a picture from the Freer Gallery. Here the line seems less dry. Actually there are two lines. On the chrysanthemum vase one can see a light wash line drawn on the same contour as the heavy black line. This serves as a subtle reminder of the indefiniteness of boundaries applicable to individual phenomena in nature. This painting, too, has a particular appeal to western eyes because of certain analogies that may be drawn between it and modern French painting (76, p. 38).

There are other works which may be included within the area of Shen Chou's handling of small themes. One of these, *Rockery and Bamboo*, clearly comes in this late period (Cat. L). It is not dated, but the moist handling of the ink is

related to his Wu Chen manner. Actually this might be said to be in the style of Ni Tsan since this was one of the latter's favorite themes. If so considered, however, it shows us, as we have already suggested, that the late Shen Chou followed Ni Tsan in name, composition, and perhaps idea, not in specific execution. Certainly the careful order of a developed Shen Chou painting is the skeleton over which the ink is brushed.

Beyond this are a series of album leaves (Cat. LVI, LVII) which have already been discussed by Sirén (104, p. 85) and a few other small works—notably a delicately brushed *Crab* from Taichung (pl. 50, C) and *Two Young Crows* in Stockholm (pl. 50, A). A close twin to the Stockholm picture is to be found in a painting from the collection of Wu Hu-fan in China, *Young Bulbuls on a Winter Branch* (pl. 50, B). In a more modest way, these winter birds also recall the bird in Honolulu.

Aside from their own inherent qualities, the album leaves add little to the historical picture of the painter. But they help to emphasize the point that Shen Chou's production was full—in a sense endless. Painting follows painting. All cannot be fully described even when we are limited by those that have come to us and are available for study. The leaves are undated, but probably could safely be considered late. It is worth noting that a group of them now in separate collections were, from the size and similar seals, once in the same collection and all parts of the same album.

The *Crab*, which is poorly reproduced in Chinese publications,⁹⁶ may offer a final note, for it is dated 1501, and the same inscription says it was done at the Yu-chu chuang (pl. 50, D). This is a name probably to be associated with the Shen family home.⁹⁷ It is connected with paintings done both early and late in the artist's life. Shen Chou, then, has come home. The subject is insignificant, but in another sense it is as important as any subject could be. It is a vehicle to show that the nature of the world, reality itself, could be caught in a few strokes of the brush involved in depicting the most insignificant of objects. It is not like the soft and careful delineation of the other *Crab* (pl. 50, C), and so it appears to tell us again the nature of change in an aging artist and brings us toward the end.

⁹⁶ *Shen-chou*, 86, vol. 4. Then listed in a T'ung family collection, Ssü-ming T'ung-shih tsang.

⁹⁷ See Catalogue, V, *Flowers and Birds*, in the style of Wang Yüan, 1468, and explanatory note.

CONCLUSION

Conclusions at this stage can really be only tentative and preliminary. We have tried to present a working basis for an understanding of Shen Chou the painter. There is a historical sequence to what he paints, but it must be apparent that history is not the primary consideration. We have tried to indicate something of this historical process in discussing each individual work and in placing the total accumulation according to the passage of the years. But because of the nature of art in the East, of Shen Chou's art in particular, what each painting says in itself is what gives significance. Later the subtleties of historical change in such a personality may be more positively and clearly understood. Certainly more and better chapters must be written as more material comes to light, as our knowledge expands. For the present, however, we are given what is surely enough, and what ultimately must always be enough, no matter how much subsequent intellectual cleverness is brought to an organization of the problem. We are given some paintings which with their poetry hold the core of what Shen Chou has meant or ever will mean to whoever is willing to experience them.

CATALOGUE

I. *Retreat* (pl. 6, A, C).

Abe Collection.

Dated 1464.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 2'5.7", W. 1'1.8" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions on the painting:

Shen Chen-chi.⁹⁸

Shen Chou—

The mind is far away—all objects stilled;
What need to choose a great dwelling?
Rent a small plot and still plant herbs,
To market in a cloth-covered cart.⁹⁹
By your humble path the tangled tips of vines,
At a hidden window bamboo's pure silhouette.
With Five Birds¹⁰⁰ to chase away old age
Need the hairs on your temples be few?¹⁰¹

Shu-shan¹⁰² has long sought my poor talent, and so I finally did this and added a poem
in the summer during the fourth month of 1464.

Chou Hsiu.¹⁰³

Chou Pen.¹⁰⁴

Shen Chao.¹⁰⁵

Shen I.¹⁰⁶

Inscriptions around the painting:

K'uang-weng—¹⁰⁷

Ming Shen Shih-t'ien's painting of a retreat done for Sun Shu-shan. An authentic example
of Shen Chou's painting and of the finest quality from the collection of the Pai-lien an.
This scroll is recorded in the Ming dynasty by Chang Ch'ing-fu (Chang Ch'ou, 4)¹⁰⁸

⁹⁸ Shen Chen-chi, Shen Chou's uncle. See Introduction, p. xvi; also below, second colophon by K'uang-weng.

⁹⁹ *Chin ch'e*, a term which clearly takes on added significance as a symbol of the simple life since it is found in T'ao Ch'ien's famous Homecoming poem, *Kuei Ch'ü Lai*, T'ao Ch'ien's collected works (9, 5/8).

¹⁰⁰ Five Birds, literally the Sport of the Five Birds, a system for attaining long life and freedom from sickness devised by a Han dynasty physician, Hua T'o (d. A. D. 220). The "birds" to be followed in this way of life were not all birds, but rather tiger, deer, bear, ape, and birds (or bird). (See *Hou Han shu*, Hua T'o biography, 34, 0890, 4; also Giles, 31, No. 830.)

¹⁰¹ Luxuriant hair on the temples was a special sign of wisdom and holiness (cf. *Kuo Yü*, *Tz'ü-yüan*, 125, hai/40).

¹⁰² Sun Erh (Shu-shan, Ssü-miao). These names from information on this painting, otherwise unidentified.

¹⁰³ Chou Hsiu (Kung-tsan, Ts'ao-t'ing), unidentified except that he was apparently a student of Shen Chou's father and uncle. See below, second colophon by K'uang-weng.

¹⁰⁴ Chou Pen (Tsung-tao, Tsui-yü), the teacher of Shen Chou's household school, teaching his younger brother and his children. We have a poem which Shen Chou wrote to him after he had left this job and been away from Shen Chou's house some 10 years. (*Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 1/5b.) Shen Chou wrote his epitaph. (*Shen-wen chi*, 93, 9/9b.)

¹⁰⁵ Shen Chao (Chi-nan), Shen Chou's younger brother, who apparently died in 1472. (See text, Early Works, p. 17, and Festival, pp. 22-23.)

¹⁰⁶ Shen I (T'ing-tso), unidentified except that Shen Chou was intimate with him and there are poems connected with his name. He lived in the "Eastern Wood," Tung-lin. One wonders whether or not he was a relative, perhaps even a half-brother, as there is a reference to Shen Chou's father having had three sons. See footnote 38.

¹⁰⁷ K'uang-weng (Hsieh Kang-kuo). This figure and his friend, Chu Te-fu, who writes the colophons on the sides of the painting are, from the dates on the colophons, modern figures but otherwise unidentified.

¹⁰⁸ Chang Ch'ou, 1577-1635, a famous connoisseur, whose father, Chang Ying-wen, was likewise a famous

in section three and in the Ch'ing dynasty, in Lu's *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (42) in the sixteenth *chuan*.¹⁰⁹ Chang Ch'ing-fu declares that the painting has something of the quality of antiquity and the brushing of poetry is extremely beautiful; it yields nothing to Shen Tu¹¹⁰ and is a wonderful bit of antiquity. As for the colophons on the painting, the five-character-line poem is in Shen Chou's collected works. His explanation says it was done for Sun Erh (Shu-shan). Thus Shen Chen-chi in his poem speaks of Mr. Sun, and Chou Pen's poem says [Sun] Ssü-miao moved his home.

Recorded by K'uang-weng in the fifth month during the summer of 1918.

Chu Te-fu—

In my youth in the service of my former master I visited in Kuei-an the Lu's Five Stone Mountain House and so long ago saw this scroll, and I have been seeing it in my mind off and on for twenty years. Last autumn I got a landscape brushed in ink by Wen Cheng-ming, done when he was 85. This also was once in Mr. Lu's collection. It follows the style of Tung Yüan, with a swiftly-brushed moist quality to the ink. By comparison, the ink in this scroll (Shen Chou's) sings a different song but is done with equal skill. I asked my good friend, K'uang-weng about exchanging it for a six-leaf album by Yen-k'ö (Wang Shih-min)¹¹¹ in my possession. Thus, now at the same time one can see in my collection the rough style of Wen Cheng-ming and the fine style of Shen Chou. Written in the winter of 1920 by the Master of the Ting-hsiang-ch'ih kuan.

K'uang-weng—

T'ao-an was Shen Chou's uncle. His name was Shen and his *tzü*, Chen-chi. Chou Hsiu, *tzü* Kung-tsan, also called Ts'ao-t'ing, studied painting with Shen Chou's father, Heng-chi, and calligraphy with his uncle, Chen-chi. Chou Pen, *tzü* Tsung-tao, was the master of Shen Chou's household school, teaching his son and younger brother. Shen Chao, *tzü* Chi-nan, was Shen Chou's younger brother and Chou Pen's pupil. Shen I, *tzü* T'ing-tso, lived in retirement in the Eastern Woods. He was a very close friend of Shen Chou and so in Shen Chou's collected works there are a good many poems written in rhyme with his. K'uang-weng, a second writing.

Bibliography and seals:

- Shen Chen-chi, seal.
- Shen Chou, seal, 1464.
- Shen Chao, seal, d. 1472.
- Chou Pen, seal.
- Shen I, seal.
- Shih-t'ien chi* (91, 1615, *wu yen lü*/5a).
- Chang Ch'ou (1577-1643), *Chen-chi jih-lu* (4, section 3/27b).
- Jang-li kuan* (42, 16/17b).
- Hsieh Kang-kuo, seals, 1918 (K'uang-weng).
- Chu Te-fu, seals, 1920.
- Min shitaika gafu* (65, pl. 3).
- Sōraikan* (105, I, vol. 2, pl. 27).
- Sirén (104, pl. 48).
- Harada (32, p. 143).

scholar and collector. His father was from K'un-shan, but later moved to the neighboring western *hsien*, to Suchou. (*Jen-ming*, 16, pp. 923 and 972.) For an estimate of Chang Ch'ou see Ferguson, 28, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁹ A recording of paintings seen by the famous late Ch'ing bibliophile and collector Lu Hsin-yüan, 1834-1894. A prominent official, his last post was that of acting salt attendant in Fukien under which title he served as advisor to the governor-general of the province. In 1874 he retired to his native town, Kuei-an (part of present Wu-hsing in Chekiang), living in his garden, Ch'ien-yüan, devoting himself to writing, book collecting, and local projects (schools, flood relief). *Jang-li-kuan kuo-yen lu* (42) was published by the Lu family in 1891. Arranged chronologically, it consisted of 40 *chüan* in the main body and 16 supplementary *chüan*. (See Hummel, 40, pp. 545-547, and *Shu-hua shu-lu chieh-t'i*, 96a, 6/41, for a careful discussion of the catalogue.)

¹¹⁰ Shen Tu, from Hua-t'ing in Chekiang, a famous calligrapher in the Ming dynasty. (*Jen-ming*, 16, p. 492.) A painting given to this artist, "The Tribute Giraffe," was recently exhibited in Detroit. (*Arts of the Ming*, 23, No. 4.)

¹¹¹ Wang Shih-min, 1592-1680, the first of the "Four Wangs" of the Ch'ing dynasty. (Waley, 128, p. 95.)

Remarks:

As indicated above, this is a well-recorded painting. When it was seen at the end of the Ming dynasty by Chang Ch'ou the condition must have been similar to its present state, for the seal of Shen I, which is now illegible, was then, as reported in the *Chen-chi jih-lu*, also undecipherable.

II. *Gathering Waterchestnuts* (pl. 7, A).

Ueno Collection (now stored in Kyōto Museum).

Dated 1466.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1'2", W. 7.8" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Painting of *Gathering Waterchestnuts*. [See footnote 122.]

The girls of Waterchestnut Lake,¹¹²

Shuttle their tiny boats—

Clear water glinting red

What is the design?

Like kingfishers among flowers

Mandarin ducks on brocade.

Turn over the green cover,

Wrongly pluck a purple corner,

Wounding delicate fingers;

And watch it float away.

The high note of a song and

Ten *li* clothed in the slanting sun.

I wrote this in 1466 starting from the summer, the fifth month; and in the autumn, the ninth month on a rainy day I filled in some more with a verse following the Jen Yüeh Yüan¹¹³ melody in order to record my lonely delight.

Written by Shih-t'ien sheng.¹¹⁴

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1466.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 1).

Sirén (104, p. 75).

Remarks:

The Shen Chou seal following his calligraphy is, so far as I know, unique. The seal at the bottom of the picture is the same type as that on the Abe picture of 1464.

III. *Return from Stone Lake* (pl. 7, C).

Art Institute of Chicago.

Dated 1466.

Handscroll. Paper, ink. H. 8.2", L. 4'9.6" (Chinese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Far trees and flat sand are clothed in fading light;

The *lu* grass on the land-spits rustles in the late faint wind;

An empty house becomes the color of the mountains;

While for the boatman at the lake's head

Intoxication—still no return.

¹¹² Ling-hu in Chekiang, Wu-hsing *hsien*, and thus just south of Lake T'ai, that large body of water near Suchou. Noted for its waterchestnuts and so, quite naturally, the name. (*Tz'ü-hai*, 124, shen/57.) The colors in the poem refer to the waterchestnuts which have a red color and here shine through the clear water. Their spiky corners are purplish. The green cover, of course, is their leaves.

¹¹³ Jen Yüeh Yüan, a song melody going back to Northern Sung times. (*Tz'ü-hai*, 124, tzü/175.) The break in Shen Chou's composition is clear from the gap in the middle of the calligraphy. The Jen Yüeh Yüan melody starts out with a four-character line, "Turn over the green cover," etc.

¹¹⁴ *Sheng* may be a reference to his relative youth.

The tenth month, 1466. While on the boat coming back from Stone Lake I had a good deal of leisure time, and so for my amusement I imitated the brush and meaning of Ni Tsan by painting this small scroll and adding a poem. Shen Chou.

Yang Meng-chien.

Ch'eng K'o-tse.¹¹⁵

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1466.

Ch'ien K'a-nan, seal.

Yang Meng-chien, seals, 1612.

Ch'eng K'o-tse, seal, 1680.

Wang Hung-hsü, seal, 1645-1723.¹¹⁶

P'ang Yüan-chi (Lai-ch'en), seals.

Hsü-chai (36, 3/Shen Chou, section 9a).

Art Institute of Chicago, acquired 1951.

IV. *Towering Mount Lu* ¹¹⁷ (pl. 9, A).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

Dated 1467.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 6', W. 3'5".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

His poem is a rather elaborate and didactic one which first of all describes the wonders of the mountain and then relates this magnificence to his teacher, Ch'en Hsing-an. It concludes as follows:

I was one who loitered about his door;
Looking up at his lofty eminence
Mount Lu is no longer high.
For seventy years he has withdrawn to his Ch'iu-yüan.
What effort in his writing!
White hair becomes disheveled like the autumn *p'eng*
But when his essays fall together and his poetry sings
How great is his joy.
Fame and wealth to him are like the passing cloud;¹¹⁸
He does not write and press himself to those in high position,
Nor will he stoop to live with common men.
Oh, he is one giving clear form to eternity,
A yellow crane that rises high and meets the breath of heaven.

On the fifth day of the fifth month, 1467, the pupil, Shen Chou of Suchou, respectfully composed poem and painting, wishing long life for (Ch'en) Hsing-an, Yu-tao-tsun hsien-sheng. [See footnote 24.]

Ch'ien Lung.

¹¹⁵ Ch'eng K'o-tse, Chou-liang, Huang-chen, Shih-ch'ü, was from Nan-hai in Kuangtung province. A seventeenth-century scholar, official and poet, he became a *chin shih* in 1652. He was a member of a group of seven Kuangtung poets—"Seven Poets of Lingnan"—known as the Lan Hu She. (*Jen-ming*, 16, p. 1183; Hummel, 40, p. 502.)

¹¹⁶ Wang Hung-hsü, Chi-yu, Yen-chai, Heng-yün-shan-jen. His original name was Tu Hsin, 1645-1723. From Hua-t'ing in Kiangsu, official, scholar, calligrapher, poet, he was particularly an authority on Ming history. In 1682 he was made one of the chief editors of the official Ming history (*Ming Shih*) and in 1723, the last year of his life, presented to the throne his "own" draft, apparently largely the work of other historians, of Ming history. He was also a celebrated calligrapher. (Hummel, 40, p. 826; Contag and Wang, 21, p. 533.)

¹¹⁷ This mountain, as suggested in the text, was very famous in Chinese history. It is near P'o-yang Lake in Kiangsi Province, on an arm of land which has the Yangtze River to the north and the shore of P'o-yang Lake running in a southerly and slightly westerly direction.

¹¹⁸ i.e., transitory and unimportant.

Bibliography and seals:

Shih-wen chi (93, 1/1b).

Keng Chao-chung, seals, 1640-1686.

Ta-kuan lu (K'ang Hsi), 1666-1727 (110, 20/5).

An Ch'i, early 18th century.

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Ferguson, *Li-tai* (53), declares painting listed in unpublished section of *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* (89, pt. 2) in the Yang-hsin tien.

Ku-kung shu-hua chi (47, vol. 1).

Ku-kung chou-k'an (46, vol. 5, No. 108); *Exhibition of Chinese Art in London* (59, III, p. 191).

The Chinese Exhibition (58, No. 1261).

Sirén (104, p. 77).

Cohn (19, pl. 183).

Lippe (57, p. 17).

Remarks:

There seems to be no seal of the artist on this painting. (Would seals have been disrespectful?) It appears to have emerged from obscurity sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century. The poem was not known to Ch'en Jen-hsi and Ch'ien Yün-chih when they assembled their collection of Shen Chou's poetry in 1615, but it appears in Ch'ü Shih-ssü's edition of 1644. It has often been published in modern times.

V. *Flowers and Birds*, in the style of Wang Yüan (pls. 9, C, 10, B).

Lugano, Switzerland, Collection of J. P. Dubosc.

Dated 1468.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors. H. 9'5½", W. 3'5¾".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou (not completely translated)—

The ninth month, 1468, I imitated Wang Yüan's brush and meaning in the Bamboo Village.¹¹⁹ Shen Chou of Suchou then added this colophon.

Wang Ch'ung.¹²⁰

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1468.

Wang Ch'ung, seals, 1523.

Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing (24, No. 6).

Mostra (127, No. 789).

VI. *Towering Mountains above a Retreat* (pl. 10, C).

Taichung (Formosa), Central Museum Collection.

No date (before 1470).

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 3'4.9", W. 8.6".

¹¹⁹ The Yu-chu chuang, Bamboo Village, as distinct from Shen Chou's own Yu-chu chü, Bamboo Dwelling, seems to be connected with the Shen family rather than with Shen Chou personally. There are traces of it in connection with Shen Chou both early and late in his life as on this picture of 1468, an unpublished landscape album leaf of 1501 in the Palace Museum on Formosa (*Li-tai ming hui* is the album title and the catalogue No.: ch'eng 166/1) a painting of a Crab in 1501 (p. 79), and a painting in the Saitō collection of 1504 (p. 108). On this latter the seal seems to indicate it as a name for the Shen family library. It is also mentioned in a poem connected with Chou Pen (Tsung-tao), the teacher in Shen Chou's household school. (*Shih-wen chi*, 93, 5/12a.)

¹²⁰ Wang Ch'ung, 1494-1533, Ya-i-shan-jen, Lü-chi, Lü-jen, Wei-chai, a pupil of Wen Cheng-ming. He lived only 40 years, but according to one critic, "In his paintings he imitated Huang Kung-wang and was just as refined as Wen Cheng-ming . . . It was a great pity that he died at the early age of 40. If he had lived longer, he would have become a rival of Shen Chou and Wen Cheng-ming." (Sirén, 104, p. 111.)

Inscriptions:

Liu Chüeh.
 Wu K'uan.
 Wen Lin.
 Li Chai?
 Shen Chou (added above painting).
 Ch'ien Lung.

Bibliography and seals:

Liu Chüeh, seal, 1470 (second month).
 Wu K'uan, seal, 1472 (19th of eighth month).
 Wen Lin, seal, 1472 (26th of eighth month).
 Li Chai?, seals.
 Shen Chou, seals, 1501.
 Ch'ien Lung, seals, 1784.
Li-tai ming-jen shu-hua (55, vol. 3).

Remarks:

Done originally for Ma I-chih; there are several Shen Chou poems connected with the name of this friend. (See *Shih-t'ien chi*, 91, *ch'i yen lü*, 2/4b and 3/4b.)
 There are apparently several more seals on the scroll, but they are impossible to read from the reproduction. Identified figures—Liu Chüeh, Wu K'uan, Wen Lin—were all well-known friends of Shen Chou. Wen Lin was Wen Cheng-ming's father.

VII. Nine-leaf Album (pls. 11, A, B, C; 12 A, B; 13, B).

Hara Prefecture, Hayashi Collection.

1471 (or earlier).

Album leaves. Paper, ink, colors added. Each leaf approximately H. 5", W. 1'. Three leaves missing.

Individual leaves according to artist imitated and subject:

1. Chao Meng-fu (Wu-hsing): scholar in a grass pavilion. ([See footnote 26.]
2. Wang Meng (missing).
3. Wu Chen (missing).
4. Chao Po-chü: fields and village beside the river.
5. Hui Ch'ung: mountain path.
6. Wang Fu: traveler crossing a bridge.
7. Chao Yung: figure standing in a boat returning home.
8. Li Ch'eng (missing).
9. Chao Ta-nien: gathering waterchestnuts.

Inscriptions:

Tu Ch'üung (Tung-yüan) (on leaf 9)—

The river T'iao is at autumn's height; the water begins to fall.¹²¹
 Flowers of the waterchestnut¹²² are old and the fruit has formed its horn.

¹²¹ The T'iao is a stream in Chekiang. Its two branches, East T'iao and West T'iao, flow generally north to Wu-hsing and from there into Lake T'ai. Suchou, Shen Chou's home, is located near an eastern arm of Lake T'ai. The river gets its name from a plant called *t'iao* whose white blossoms in the autumn crowd the banks of this river. Hence, the autumnal imagery is clear. The height of the water goes down because it is the end of the summer rains. (*Ti-ming*, 17, p. 662.)

¹²² There is some confusion, since the term "waterchestnut" is an English name commonly used to describe two distinct types of Chinese plants: *ling* or *ling-chiao*, and *pi-ch'i*. The latter "waterchestnut" is actually a round bulb growing in the mud. It is the *ling-chiao* with which we are concerned here. This waterchestnut is, as the poem says, horn shaped and it floats on the water, maturing with the fading of the flower. (See *Tz'ü-hai*, 124, under these names.)

Red skirts and green lustre of young hair¹²³ what girls are these?
 Their small skiffs like weavers' shuttles never rest on the water.
 By threes and fives they gather chestnuts
 And ten slender fingers turn as ice.
 But no fear of frozen hands nor the prick of thorns.
 They only dread returning without full measure.
 How charming are the customs of Hu-chou¹²⁴
 The men plough, the women spin.
 Picking waterchestnuts is for those who pick mulberry leaves
 And thus they help support their husband's house.

The sun sinks and over the green hills rise the smokes of evening
 For ten *li* of lake heaven is in a mirror.
 A verse of clear song follows the homeward road
 Is it not the river singing the *Ts'ai Lien*?¹²⁵

Chi-nan brought out his elder brother Shih-t'ien's (Shen Chou) painting of *Gathering Waterchestnuts* and requested a poem. At that time I was not able to compose one so I wrote down the above which is one I had previously done. Since the idea expressed is very close to the scene in the painting he said it was all right.

1471 on the fifteenth of the tenth month. Lu-kuan-lao-jen, Tu Ch'ung (Tu Tung-yüan).
 Written at the age of 76.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals. On each of the extant leaves except last.

Tu Ch'ung (Tung-yüan), seal, 1471.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, seals, 1630.

Kao Shih-ch'i, *Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu* (5, 1/76b).¹²⁶

Tuan Fang, 1851-1911 (according to *Kokka*).¹²⁷

Min shitaika gafu (65, pls. 8-13).

Sōgen (small) (106, 95). Illustrates 1.

Kokka, 495 (111). Illustrates 1, 7, 9.

Kokka, 498 (111). Illustrates 4, 5, 6.

Sirén (104, p. 76).

Harada (71, p. 148). Merely title; no colophon information.

Lee (51, fig. 18). Illustrates 4.

Remarks:

At least as late as 1693 (Kao Shih-ch'i's recording) all nine leaves were intact. Subsequently three have strayed. The first sheet was in 1693 somewhat larger than the rest and has since been cut from a size then of 8" by 12" plus to around 6" by 12" plus. This indicates remounting. Because of Tu Ch'ung's colophon,

¹²³ Here specifically "green bound-hair." The deep black hair of youth was thought to shine green. Clearly, the description is of fresh youth. (*Tz'ü-hai*, 124, under *lū pin*, *wei*/91.) The style here is that of forming two knots. This can be clearly seen in the picture.

¹²⁴ Hu-chou, the general area to which the poem applies, a region watered by the branches of the T'iao.

¹²⁵ Ts'ai Lien, an ancient song, part of an official collection of songs, *yüeh-fu*. It was supposed to have been composed by Liang Wu Ti of the sixth century. This title translated means "Gathering the Lotus." In the same group of songs there is another entitled "Gathering Waterchestnuts" *Ku-chin yüeh-fu* (*Tz'ü-hai*, 124, mao/136.) Since it is fall, the mention of the lotus suggests the ultimate return of the seasons of spring and summer beyond the coming winter.

¹²⁶ Kao Shih-ch'i, 1645-1703, Tan-jen, P'ing-lu, Chiang-ts'un, Chu-ch'uang. A great literary figure in his day who at times was very close to the emperor. When he retired he adopted P'ing-hu, Chekiang, as his home. The main structure in his mansion was called Chiang-ts'un Ts'ao-t'ang ("The grass hall of the river village"), hence the name for his catalogue of paintings. (Hummel, 40, p. 413.)

¹²⁷ Tuan Fang, 1851-1911, Wu-ch'iao, T'ao-chai, was a famous official and collector during the closing years of the Ch'ing dynasty. As he held many important posts in central China, it may have been during this time that he came upon Shen Chou's album. (Hummel, 40, p. 780.)

there has been some attempt to connect the final sheet with a 12-leaf album mentioned by Chang Ch'ou as also painted for Shen Chou's brother.¹²⁸ But as this great Ming connoisseur says that each leaf on this latter album had Tu Ch'iung's and Shen Chou's comments, it can hardly be the same. Only the final sheet of the Hayashi album has Tu Ch'iung's colophon. There is no Shen Chou writing. That there was more than one such album helps indicate the close relation that existed between Shen Chou and his brother. There is at least a clue to the three missing leaves. They are known in copies owned by Fukushima Shinichi in Tōkyō. Photographs of them are to be found in the Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, Tōkyō.

VIII. *Landscape for Liu Chüeh* (pl. 7, B).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

No date (before 1472).

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 1'8.7", W. 1'3.5" (Chinese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Ch'en Meng.

Shen Chou. Translated in part, Introduction, p. xxi.¹²⁹ Also discussed by Sirén (104, p. 75).

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, before 1472.

Chang Ch'ou (1577-1643) *Chen-chi jih-lu* (4, section 3/26).

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Chia Ch'ing, seal, 1796-1821.

Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-1912.

Ku-kung chou-k'an (46, 27, 1).

Ku-kung shu-hua chi (47, 30).

Shina Nanga taisei (95, Landscape 1, *chüan* 11, pl. 22).

Sirén (104, p. 75).

IX. *The Mountains of Ling-yin* (*Ling-yin shan t'u-chüan*) (pl. 8, B).

Liu family collection, Yang-hui T'ang.

Dated 1471.

Handscroll. Other data unavailable.

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1471.

Other seals, not deciphered, faint or not printed.

Shen Shih-t'ien Ling-yin shan t'u-chüan (87).

X. *Rose Mallow and Rock* (pl. 44, A).

Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.

Dated 1475 (summer).

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 4'1¾", W. 1'5½".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Meaning discussed in text.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1475.

Unidentified seals.

Omura, *Bunjin gasen* (3, I, 6).

¹²⁸ Chang Ch'ou (*Ch'ing-ho*, 10, Shen Chou section V.12/12a; Taki, 111, *Kokka*, p. 35).

¹²⁹ Mo Mu, a consort of the mythical Yellow Emperor, who was extremely ugly, but her ugliness was completely overcome by her unparalleled virtue and goodness. *Tz'ü-hai* (124) under this name, referring to *Lieh-nü chuan*. Mao Ch'iang, a famous beauty of antiquity, mentioned in *Chuangtzu*, *Ch'i-wu lun*, *Shih-chieh shu-chü printing* (*Chuangtzu chi chieh*, 12, p. 45).

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 21). Listed in Yamamoto Collection.

Tōsō (small) (120, 251).

Pageant (32, pl. 497).

Harada (71, p. 144).

XI. *Plum Blossoms at Chu-t'ang Temple* (pl. 19, B).

Suchou Library, Kiangsu Province.

Dated 1475 (winter).

Hanging scroll. H. 35¼", W. 20".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Poem and explanation. Meaning discussed in text, p. 42.

Wu Hu-fan (1930).

P'an Ch'eng-hou.

P'an Ch'eng-pi.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1475.

Shih-t'ien chi (91, 1615, *ch'i yen ku*/15b).

Shih-wen chi (93, 1644 1/14a).

P'an Ch'eng-hou, seal, 1930.

P'an Ch'eng-pi, seal, 1930.

Famous Chinese Painting and Calligraphy (7, I).

Remarks:

Another painting dated 1475 (ninth month) has recently come to my attention from a photograph obtained in Japan. The subject, inspired by long days of rain, cannot in this reproduction (a photograph from an old Chinese publication) add much to our knowledge of Shen Chou's development except to suggest a kind of continuing delicacy.

XII. *Landscape Panorama* (pl. 26, B).

Portland, Portland Art Museum.

Dated 1477.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors. H. 13", L. 24½".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

A clear stream bears the music of tinkling jade,

In a glance the splendid green of paradise.

There is the pure-in-heart who has escaped;

He and his grass hut pass the idle years.

(Translated by H. C. Tseng.)

Wu K'uan.

Wen P'eng.

Wang Ku-hsiang.

P'eng Nien.

Wu Yin-chi.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1477 (first third of the second month).

Shih Chien, seals, 1434-1498.

Wu K'uan, seals, 1435-1504.

Wen P'eng, seals, 1498-1568.

Wang Ku-hsiang, seal, 1536.

P'eng Nien, seals, 1505-1566.

Wu Yin-chi, 16th century.

Ku Cho, seal, 17th century.

Chi Fen, seal, 18th century.
 Chi Kuang-chi, seal, 18th century.
 Wu Yün, seal, 1811-1883.
 Li Chia-fu, seal, 1839-1904.
 Wang Hsing-ch'u, seal, 20th century.
 Tseng, *Loan Exhibition* (122, No. 15).

Remarks:

Interestingly, Wu K'uan's colophon suggests a connection with Huang Kung-wang, declaring that none since that master could have done the likes of it. Wu K'uan also tells us it was in Shih Chien's collection; we have already met Shih Chien, as his colophon appears on a Liu Chüeh painting (pl. 5, B).

XIII. Eight-leaf Album, Landscapes and Poems (pl. 25, B, 26, A).

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

No date.

Album leaves. Paper (flecked with gold leaf), ink. H. 1'2 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", W. 2'1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Eight poems, translated in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* (reference below).

Wen Chia.

Wang Chih-teng.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Wen Cheng-ming, d. 1559. In his collection as noted in Wen Chia colophon on painting.

Wen Chia, seals, 1576.

Wang Chih-teng, seals, 1604.

Tseng family. Unidentified seals.

Lu Hsin-yüan, *Jang-li kuan kuo-yen lu* (42, 16/4b-7a).

Lu Shu-sheng,¹³⁰ seal.

Tuan Fang, 1861-1911.

Chang Tsu-i, inscribed labels, 1909.

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (117).

Archives (123, p. 31).

XIV. *Scroll presented to Wu K'uan* (pls. 29, 30).

Tōkyō, Mr. Gengi Kadogawa.

About 1479.¹³¹

Handscroll. Paper, ink. H. 1'1/4", L. 35'10 $\frac{3}{8}$ " (Japanese measurement).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

This is a long eulogy on the merits of Wu K'uan and does not readily lend itself to translation. In the course of the poem he cites certain highlights from Wu K'uan's life: difficult beginnings involving examination failure and the loss of three children; through this a perseverance which eventually gains him a brilliant record in the highest examinations (two "firsts" as easily as though he had just pulled them out of a hat) and subsequent realization of his great abilities. Then he returned to mourn his father, observing the forms and still feeling sorrow deep in his heart. When he comes to leave again for the north, tremendous admiration

¹³⁰ Third son of Lu Hsin-yüan, according to the Boston Museum *Bulletin*.

¹³¹ The inscription on the painting tells us it was done when Wu K'uan returned to the capital after mourning his father. This was 1479. Yet there is also the tradition that Shen Chou spent three years doing it. See also *Shih-wen chi* (93, 10/17a).

is shown for him in the countryside. Then Shen Chou speaks of Wu K'uan's literary abilities. Here is where reference is made to Su Tung-po's "Red Cliff" as we mentioned above in discussing the crane. Mention is given of his writing for Shen Heng-chi's tomb and of the old friendship that existed between Wu K'uan and Shen Chou's father. But with all this literary greatness, Wu K'uan does not lose sympathy with those in distress and so he helps Shen Chou to remember "the world," for it is the responsibility of the great man to be the first to feel sorrow and the last to be able to relax and enjoy.

A few explanatory sentences follow the poem:

T'ai-shih Wu Yüan-po (Wu K'uan), hurrying to carry out the mourning rites for his father, returned to Suchou. When this period was over and he was to go back, his friend Shen Chou made this, a parting present which, compared with my forebear's tomb-inscription, is nothing. T'ai-shih must instruct me.

Wang Shih-chen.¹³²

Others.

No attempt is made here to further analyze inscriptions or decipher seals. The article in *Kokka* mentioned below lists some names of other writers of colophons: Chang Chiu-i, Chou T'ien-ch'iu,¹³³ Wang Yüan-fan, Shen Yü. But it is necessary to wait for a complete collection of material before compiling an accurate account.

Bibliography and seals:

Seals probably follow colophons as mentioned above.

Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou shan-jen ssü-pu kao* (137, 138/5a-b).

Chang Ch'ou, *Ch'ing-ho shu-hua fang* (10, section of Shen Chou/12a). Listed in Wang Shih-chen's collection.

Chang Ch'ou, *Chen-chi jih-lu* (4, 2/17a).

Shih-wen chi (93, 10/16b-17a).

Pien Yung-yü, 1645-1702. *Shih-ku t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao* (90, 2/114). Listed as having been in Wang Shih-chen's collection. Earliest printing which includes reproduction of Shen Chou's colophon poem. (*Ibid.*, 25/12.)

P'ei-wen chai shu-hua p'u (74, 87/p. 28 and 87/p. 31).

Kokka (84, 545).

Harada (71, p. 147).

Remarks:

Apparently this is a well-recorded and much admired scroll. Wang Shih-chen thought there was nothing quite like it: of all Shen Chou's paintings "none like this," "a prince among paintings," "what other painters can equal it?" (137, 138/5a-b). Chang Ch'ou puts it in the divine class at the very top (4, 2/17a). These early records speak of it as being more than 50 Chinese feet, and unless "five *chang*" is a standard term meaning "very long," or the *chang* in Wang Shih-chen's locale was less than standard, we can assume some cutting of the scroll. Since there is a Shen Chou seal across the gap where the colophon paper joins the painting, the cutting apparently did not occur at that end.

XV. *Winter Landscape* (pl. 27, A).

Stockholm, National Museum.

No date.

¹³² Wang Shih-chen, 1526-1590, Yüan-mei, Wu-hu-chang. For other names see Contag and Wang, 21, p. 530. From T'ai-ts'ang in Kiangsu. Poet, writer, and connoisseur, he also had an important though stormy career as a statesman. (Giles, 31, No. 2220.)

¹³³ Chou T'ien-ch'iu, 1514-1595. For many names see Contag and Wang, 21, p. 185. It is of particular interest that his name is associated with the painting as he came from Suchou and was an artist and pupil of Wen Cheng-ming.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 4'3¼", W. 1'10½".

Inscriptions:

Translations in Sirén, *Exhibition of Chinese Paintings* (102, pp. 32-34).

Shen Chou.

Chu Ts'un-li.

Ku Ch'ing.

Yao Shou.

Signature obliterated on final inscription.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Chu Ts'un-li, seal, 1444-1513.

Ku Ch'ing, seal.

Yao Shou, seal, 1423-1495.

Sirén, *An Exhibition of Chinese Paintings* (102, No. 43).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 52).

XVI. *Hsieh An on East Mountain* (pl. 27, B).

New York, H. C. Weng Collection.

Dated 1480.

Hanging scroll. Silk, ink, colors added. H. 5'7¼", W. 2'11⅜". (17, p. 1219).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Ch'ien-t'ang Tai Wen-chin's "Hsieh An on East Mountain." 1480. Copied by Shen Chou of Ch'ang Chou.

Seal:

Shen Chou.

XVII. *Floating in a Boat among Fragrant Lotuses* (pl. 28).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum collection.

No Date.

Hanging scroll. Silk, ink, colors added. H. 5'6.6", W. 2'8.3" (Chinese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 49.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Ku-kung (45, No. 30).

Ku-kung chou-k'an (46, vol. 20, 463).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 79).

Remarks:

Ku-kung states that the seal which precedes the poem-colophon "appears to be" *Chin-shih t'ing*. It is impossible to read it from the reproduction, but it is highly likely that it should read *Chu-shih t'ing*, as does a seal on the album in the Boston Museum.

XVIII. *Maple Leaves Falling into the River Wu* (pl. 45, A).

Tōkyō, formerly Yamamoto Teijirō Collection.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 3'6.3", W. 1'1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Maples (leaves) falling into the cold Wu River.¹³⁴ Shen Chou of Suchou did this for Ch'ü-shui-hsiung (The Elder Brother of the Winding Waters).

¹³⁴ Wu-chiang or Wu-sung-chiang, also popularly known as the Suchou River, flows from Lake T'ai to the Huang-p'u at Shanghai, from where they flow together into the Yangtze at Wu-sung (*Tz'ü-hai*, 124, ch'ou/45).

Hsiang Sheng-mo.¹³⁵

Ch'ien Lung.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 15th century.

Hsiang Sheng-mo, seals, 1651.

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (28, p. 154). Painting then in collection of Hsi Pao-ch'en.

Tōsō (small) (120, 250). Recorded in Yamamoto Collection.

Harada (71, p. 145).

Remarks:

Most recently another Shen Chou study of trees has come to light, three of the famous junipers from Ch'ang-shu (38, II, 10), now in the Shanghai Museum.

Unfortunately no colophons and little additional information are provided.

Another version of the junipers is owned by Mr. S. Kawai in Kyōto.

XIX. *Peach Blossoms and Young Geese* (pl. 44, B).

Ting Teng-ju Collection.

Dated 1484.

Hanging scroll. Not described, but apparently paper, ink, and colors added. Size not published.

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

Young geese are the yellow of wine and so I cherish these new geese.

1484, toward the end of the third month, painted for fun.

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1484.

Unidentified seals.

Tōsō (small) (120, 252).

XX. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan* (pl. 23, A).

Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.

Dated 1484.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 4'6½", W. 2'¾".

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Not translated.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1484.

Undeciphered seal.

Shih-wen chi, 1644. (93, 6/11b.) Printing of poem.

Geien shinshō (30, vol. XII). Listed in Yamamoto Collection.

Ōmura, *Bunjin gasen* (3, i, 9).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 77). (Uses title "A solitary Angler on the Wintry River.")

Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing (24, No. 7).

XXI. *Reading in a Landscape*.

Peking, Huang Chih-ch'ing Collection.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Materials and size not published; probably paper, ink.

¹³⁵ Hsiang Sheng-mo, 1597-1658. The grandson of Hsiang Mo-lin, who was himself a well-known painter and connoisseur. (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 386.)

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Poem damaged, including beginning and at the end the name of the person to whom he presented the painting.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Tōsō (small) (120, 245).

Pageant (32, pl. 500).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 77).

XXII. *T's'e-chiang t'u* (The Staff-bearing Wanderer) (pl. 24).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 4'9.7", W. 2'2.2" (Chinese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Not translated.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Keng Chao-chung, seals, 1640-1686.¹³⁶

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Shih-ch'ü pao-chi (89, pt. I, 39/10b).

Chia Ch'ing, seal, 1796-1821.

Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-1911.

Ku-kung shu-hua chi (47, 11).

Ku-kung chou-k'an (46, No. 161).

Pageant (32, pl. 498).

Lippe (57, p. 17).

XXIII. *Watching the Mid-Autumn Moon* (pl. 14, A).

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

No date.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 11¹³/₁₆", L. 4'4³/₄".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Two poems.

1. See main text p. 27.

2. In a rustic hut we celebrate the autumn

Hold a small feast:

Crabs' claws and fishes' tails

As offerings to the new stream.

It is perfect.

The moon in the clear sky.

We five are all

White-haired.

The wine is passed about¹³⁷

Many mouthfuls

We laugh and talk the country talk

Feelings are right

If we are not drunk

We cannot go home—

Then wind and dew will not make us

Cover our heads.

Shen Chou again did this. You can thus see the joy of the thing. But the poem is hardly worth preserving.

¹³⁶ Keng Chao-chung, 1640-1686, from Kai-p'ing in Liaoning, a famous collector and connoisseur. (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 564.)

¹³⁷ This seems to be a clear perpetuation of a T'ang custom where the wine cup is passed about rather than each guest having his own. Yang Lien-sheng, review of *Tōshi sōshō* (135).

Chu Yün-ming—¹³⁸

Thousands of homes in the autumn light
Sharing the full moon;
Your house is turned to joy
And friendship's warmth.
Wine is drunk in a strict order that
Marks off great from small;
Poems easy, yet ordered by given topics,
Friend, by age, succeeding friend.
Then drums are beat, we watch the play
And small is Nephew Hsien.¹³⁹
We pass the cup and with loved songs
Why treasure Niece Wei's voice? ¹³⁹
I'm told that in the Southern Tower
Meetings are many and rare;
For open-hearted talk compels a lingering on,
And friendship lives.

Bibliography and seals: ¹⁴⁰

Shen Chou, seals.

Sun Ai, seal, late 15th century.

Chu Yün-ming, seals, 1460-1526.

Kuan Ch'ieh, seal, early 16th century.

Lo Hsiao-ch'uan, seals. Ming dynasty, from Yü-chang in Kiangsi.

Wu Chen, seal, early 17th century.¹⁴¹

Ch'eng Cheng-k'uei, seals, 17th century.

Ku Hao-ch'ing, seals, 1766-1826.

Wu O, seal. Ch'ing painter, also called Shao-o.

Sirén, *American Collections* (101, pt. V, pl. 164, p. 86).

Ashton and Grey, *Chinese Art* (1, pl. 99, p. 260).

Munsterberg, *Chinese Art* (70, pl. 47).

Archives (123, pp. 31-45).

XXIV. Five-leaf Album (pls. 14, B; 17, A; 18, A, B; 19, A).

Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.

No date.

Album mounted as a handscroll with an additional leaf by Wen Cheng-ming (1516).

Paper, ink, colors added. Each leaf: H. 1'3¼", W. 1'11¾".

1. *Gardeners* (pl. 17, A).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Signature only.

¹³⁸ Chu Yün-ming, 1460-1526, Chih-shan, Chih-shan-lao-ch'iao, Hsi-che, Chih-chih-sheng. From Shen Chou's native Suchou, a famous poet and calligrapher, one of the "four talents" of Suchou, the other three being T'ang Yin, Wen Cheng-ming, and Hsü Chen-ch'ing (1479-1511). The latter was noted particularly as a poet. (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 243; Sirén, *H of LCP*, 104, p. 120.)

¹³⁹ References to historical figures. Nephew Hsien is Yüan Hsien, third century, nephew of Yüan Chi (210-263), noted for his playing of the guitar and knowledge of music (*Chin shu*, 6, 49/1a). Niece Wei is Wei Tzū-fu, second century B.C., a singing girl in the establishment of the emperor's sister whose "glossy hair and gleaming teeth" captivated him. (*Shih chi*, 88, 111/1.)

¹⁴⁰ For a complete identification of seals and bibliographical sources of their owners see Tseng and Edwards (123). Only the seal of Wu Chen, identified in note 141, was discovered by Mr. Tseng too late for publication at that time.

¹⁴¹ Wu Chen, a scholar and collector, also called Chou-sheng. He flourished early in the seventeenth century, a native of Hsin-hsü, Anhwei Province, and a close friend of Tung Ch'ü-ch'ang (1555-1636). His studio was the Ch'ing-chien t'ang. (See *Hsi hsien chih*, 35, 10/shih lin 10.)

2. *Poet on a Mountain Top* (pl. 18, A).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 40.

3. *Scholar and Crane Returning Home* (pl. 14, B).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 40.

4. *Return from a Thousand Li* (pl. 18, B).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 41.

5. *Mountain Travelers* (pl. 19, A).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 41.

Additional painting by Wen Cheng-ming:

Illustrates poem by Wei Ying-wu of the T'ang (translated in *The Jade Mountain*, 113, p. 206). This is followed by colophons of Wen Cheng-ming and Hsieh Lan-sheng.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Wen Cheng-ming, seals, 1516.

Hsieh Lan-sheng, seals, 1824.

P'an Cheng-wei, seals, 19th century.

P'an Cheng-wei, *T'ing-fan lou shu-hua chi* (115, supplement 2nd part/1a-2b).

The Unsung Ming (98, p. 24-25, Ill. of No. 2).

Munsterberg, *A Short History of Chinese Art* (70, pl. 48).

Oriental Art (24a, p. 51, Ill. of No. 2).

The Arts of the Ming Dynasty (23, p. 9, Nos. 12-17).

Lee, *Landscape Painting* (50, No. 53).

Sickman and Soper (99, pls. 132, 133, Nos. 1, 2).

Munsterberg, *Landscape Painting* (69, pl. 54-5, No. 2).

- XXV. *Rain at Wang-ch'uan* (after a poem by Wang Wei) (pl. 17, B).

Collection unknown.

No date.

Album leaf. Materials and measurements unpublished.

Inscription:

Shen Chou (two lines of a Wang Wei poem)—

Over the vast expanse of water-logged fields one white egret flies,

In the dark shade of the summer woods a yellow oriole calls.

(Translated by Soame Jenyns, *Three Hundred Poems of the T'ang Dynasty*, 43, p. 68. See also Bynner and Kiang, 113, p. 197.)

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Shina nanga taisei (95, Landscape 1, chüan 11, pl. 23).

- XXVI. *Catalpa Trees* (pl. 20, C).

Indianapolis, Eli Lilly Collection, John Herron Art Museum.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 43 $\frac{13}{16}$ ", W. 16 $\frac{1}{16}$ ".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Fan Kung's hand planted objects of a thousand years

Fitting that descendants take special care in their nurture.

Full and old the leaves fall returning to the ages;

Again and again with their love of spring they rise from the earth.

Watch them as Chi Cha ¹⁴² guarded the auspicious trees.
 Since I read Chou's writing I know their beauty,
 So for you I take the brush and paint their likeness
 And may lesser plants remain in awe, through bright sun and wind and rain.
 Shen Chou of Suchou.

Chou Ting— ¹⁴³

Shen Chou once climbed up on the Fan ancestral temple with Liu Hsien-chih of Liao-yang and looked out beyond the wall on the three catalpa trees.
 Later he did a painting of them for Liu as a going-away present. I wrote three *fu* (prose-poems) in T'ang dynasty form.
 After two years, Ming-chi called and asked me to copy these old phrases as a request to Shen Chou to do the painting again.

Then follows Chou Ting's poem after the form set by Shen Chou. The poem is signed: Chou Ting of Chia-ho.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Chou Ting, seals, 1401-1487.

Two seals unidentified.

Not published.

XXVII. *River Village and the Joy of Fishing* (pls. 15, 16, A).

Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art (39.2).

No date.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 9¾", L. 5'6½".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

With sand and water boiling, the waves beat on the shore.
 In maple leaves and rushes both road and court recede.
 The fish-vendor beats his drum in the brisk evening breeze
 Or dries his nets and moors his boat as the western sun declines.
 In his raincoat made of rushes a drunk old man reclines,
 And sings a river ditty while his wife is cooking.
 Among men such happiness is obtained by the fisher folk
 While besetting me are hirelings ashamed to grasp the plow.

(Translated by A. G. Wenley.)

Yao Chen.

Ch'en Yung-nien.

Wu Tso-ch'ing.

Yen Shou.

Ch'en Ch'ung-pen.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Yao Chen, seal, 1525.

Ch'en Yung-nien, seal, 1578.

Wu Tso-ch'ing, seal, 1583.

Yen Shou, seals, unidentified.

¹⁴² Chi Cha, sixth century B.C. He served the ruler of Hsü who had a special longing for a sword worn by him. The minister knew this but went away on a diplomatic mission saying nothing. When he returned he found the ruler of Hsü dead, and so Chi Cha took the sword and hung it as a votive offering on a tree at the dead prince's grave (Giles, 31, No. 287).

¹⁴³ Chou Ting, 1401-1487, from Chia-ho (or Chia-hsing, *Ti-ming* 17, p. 1080) in Chekiang. Although he had some success as a minor military official, he had to resign office because of personal difficulties with his superiors. He became noted as a scholar of classics and history. There are three collections of his works. A. G. Wenley, seal file in Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. *Jen-ming* (16, p. 541).

Liang Ch'ing-piao, seals, 1620-1691.¹⁴⁴

Ch'en Ch'ung-pen, seal, 1791.

P'ang Yüan-ch'i, seals.

P'ang, *Hsü-chai* (36, 3/Shen Chou section, 1a-3a).

Munsterberg, *Landscape Painting* (69, pl. 53, 1955).

Sickman and Soper (99, pl. 134).

Remarks:

Although it seems to have escaped some famous early catalogues, this is an extremely well-recorded painting with colophons or seals from the early sixteenth century to the present.

This style and river subject are also represented by several paintings in Japan. Having come to my attention too late for this study, at least two are worth mentioning here. They are (1) Ōgawa Collection, Kyōto (unpublished), (2) Kawai Collection, Kyōto (Yonezawa, 138, pl. 10).

XXVIII. *Famous Views of Two Rivers* (pl. 20, A,B).

China, P'an Po-shan Collection.

No date.

Album. Ten views, each accompanied by five-character-line poems. Material and dimensions not published.

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

Wen Chia (cf. Eight-leaf Album, Boston).

Fan Wen (Chung-yün).

Wang Shih-chen.

Shen Ming-ch'en.

Wang Chih-teng (cf. Eight-leaf Album, Boston).

Yin Tu.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Wen Chia, late 16th century.

Fan Wen, seals.

Wang Shih-chen, seals, 1579.

Shen Ming-ch'en, seals, 1579.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seals, late 16th century.

Wang Chih-teng, seals, late 16th or early 17th century.

Ho Shao-chi, title page of calligraphy, 19th century, *Jen-ming* (16, p. 291).

P'an Po-shan, seals.

Remarks:

Part of Wang Shih-chen's colophon sums up the scenes: "North of the river, four, and all lack mountains; south of the river, five of mountains, one of water."

XXIX. *Returning Swallows*.

Kuei-lin, Chang Hsün-an Collection.

Dated 1488.

Hanging scroll. Not described but apparently paper, ink (color?). Size not published.

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1488.

Unidentified seals.

Ming-jen shu-hua (66, 23).

¹⁴⁴ Liang Ch'ing-piao, 1620-1691. For this famous collector see Contag and Wang, 21, p. 573.

XXX. *Ten Views of Suchou* (pls. 21, 22).

Tōkyō, formerly Hashimoto Collection.

Dated 1488.

Album leaves. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1'2", W. 1'4.5" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text. For further reference to Han Hsiang, for whom the album was painted, see *Shih-wen chi* (93, 7/14a); *Ming Biographies* (72, V/p. 135).

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1488.

"Yu T'eng," seals, unidentified.

Shen Chou tso Ku-su shih-ching (85). All 10 leaves and inscription.*Shōman ryūdō gekijutsu* (96). Illustrates 3 views: Pao-hua shan, Kuang-fu ssū, and Ling-yen shan.*Bijutsu shūei* (2, No. 24). One view: Ling-yen shan.*Geien shinshō* (30, vol. 1). View of Mount Pan-i.Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pls. 56, 57). Two views: Ling-yen shan and Kuang-fu ssū.Speiser, *Die Kunst Ostasiens* (107, pl. 140). Ling-yen shan.XXXI. *Rose Mallow and Pine* (pl. 45, B).

New York, N. Y., H. C. Weng Collection.

Dated 1489.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors. H. 9¼", L. 2'8⅜".

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

1489. Summer. Shen Chou of Ch'ang-chou (Suchou).

Many friends, among them the artists:

Yao Shou, 1423-95.

Tu Chin, late 15th century.

Remarks:

The painting yet remains to be carefully studied. There is a wealth of material in colophons and seals. From a seal in the lower leaf, Wo-an so tsang, one collector must have been Chu Chih-ch'ih of the Ming dynasty (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 538).

In the abbreviated notes of his collection, *Chu Wo-an tsang shu-hua mu* (11, /1a), there is mention of a Rose Mallow, but no indication that it is this one.

XXXII. *Pomegranate and Melon Vine* (Ssü-kua) (pl. 46, A).^{144a}

Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors. H. 4'10⅝", W. 2'5¾".

Inscription:

Wang Ao, 1450-1514.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Unidentified seals.

Liang Ch'ing-piao, seals, 1620-1691.

Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing (24, No. 9).*The Arts of the Ming* (23, No. 7).*Mostra* (127, No. 797).XXXIII. *Banana in Snow* (pl. 46, B).

Honolulu, Honolulu Academy of Arts.

^{144a} The painting has most recently (1961) been acquired by the Museum of Art at the University of Michigan.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors. H. 5'5½", W. 2'1¼".

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

When the year is cold, wind and snow fill garden and wood.

A solitary (bird) sits hugging the withered stem—one would think it could not bear it.

(When he sees the bird), are feelings stirred up during the extreme sadness of his journey?

Who knows what is in the lonely wanderer's heart?

Shen Chou.

(Translated by Gustav Ecke.)

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Sun Fu-ch'ang, seal, 19th century.

Monumenta Serica (26, pp. 573-578).

Archives (8, p. 53).

XXXIV. *Spring Landscape* (pls. 31; 32 B,C,D).

Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art (34.1).

Dated 1491 (second month).

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 10⅞", L. 4'3⅜".

Inscriptions on painting:

Shen Chou—

Shen Chou painted this to give to Shih-chi.

Ch'ien Lung.

Inscriptions following painting:

Shen Chou—

This meeting on a mountain path at the edge of the evening sun:

Following no visible plan its meaning rests with gods;

A tall hat braving the clouds, what a subject to paint;

A short poem and a smoothed stone which I had a priest carve.

A mountain meeting, a beautiful spot, shouldering a tardy chair;

Eyes drop; these idling moments, a sleeve hangs over the side.

Behind, the servant shouldering his pole is, even he, extraordinary:

A flower basket and a wine bucket hanging from its two heads.

1491, the twenty-first day of the second month, I was climbing Chih-hsing Mountain¹⁴⁵ and in the wooded darkness of its base saw someone wearing a large rain-hat, some bamboo-shoots dangling from a fist, and a chair being carried eastward.

Coming closer, I saw that it was the I-pu, Yang Chün-ch'ien.¹⁴⁶ With evening falling there was scarcely time for a bow of greeting and we parted.

The next day, thinking of it, I did a painting about his noble character and added a poem.

Sending it, I beg corrections of Hsing-fu (or Hsing-fu-yün).

Shen Chou.

Wen Cheng-ming.

A large portion of this colophon is similar to the Wen Cheng-ming colophon that follows the Five-leaf album from Kansas City.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1491.

Wen Cheng-ming, seals, 1545.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seals, 1525-1590.

Shih-wen chi (93, 7/8a-b, poem).

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Chia Ch'ing, seals, 1796-1821.

¹⁴⁵ Chih-hsing shan, a mountain in the southwest part of Wu hsien, i.e., Shen Chou's own local district. It was noted for its smooth stones, used for whetstones, hence the reference to such a stone in Shen Chou's poem. (*Ti-ming*, 17, p. 151.)

¹⁴⁶ This figure, prominent particularly as a poet, was a good friend of Shen Chou as is attested by poems in Shen Chou's collected works. For his connection with a later painting, see Cat. LII.

Remarks:

On the surface of it, the painting and the description of the event in the poem and explanatory sentences seem too far apart to belong together. Although specifics do not always tally, usually the main elements of poetry and painting are similar in Shen Chou's work. However, the artist's intent was to convey the "noble character" of his friend, and this is accomplished in the painting. Also the season in the poem agrees with the season in the painting. A more accurate assessment awaits further research, particularly on such specifics as personal names. As a technical note, a similar use of green and blue ink—though far different "brush"—may be found in the mountains imitating Tai Chin in the Hsieh An painting of 1480.

XXXV. *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng* (pl. 33, A).

Washington, D. C., Freer Gallery of Art (56.28).

Dated 1491 (third month).

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 3'11 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", W. 1'11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

Poem, as translated in text, p. 56¹⁴⁷ followed by:

In 1491, on the sixteenth of the third month, I more or less followed the brushwork of Wang Meng and then added this inscription.

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1491.

Wang Shih-yüan, 20th century.

Chung-kuo ming-hua chi (18).

Min Shin sanzui (64, pl. 7).

Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing (24, No. 8).

Mostra (127, No. 799).

XXXVI. *Night Vigil* (pl. 33, B).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

Dated 1492.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 2'6.5", W. 6.8" (Chinese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text. See above, p. 57.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1492.

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Shih-ch'ü pao-chi (89, 38/47).

Chia Ch'ing, seal, 1796-1821.

Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-1911.

Ku-kung shu-hua chi (47, 43).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 79-80).

Lippe (57, p. 17).

XXXVII. *Drawings from Life: Album* (pl. 49, A,B).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

Dated 1494.

Album leaves. Paper, ink, and color. H. 1'1 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", W. 1'10".

¹⁴⁷ Hsü is a river in Hunan (*Ts'ü-hai* (124/ssu 157). In the expression, *shan-se*, the significance of *se*, "shapes," is more apparent in relation to Shen Chou's painting and description of the next year, 1492, *Night Vigil*, where the shape or appearance of things is related to but not considered the essential quality of an object. The mountains here are painted with just this sense of shadowy suggestive outward appearances.

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Partially translated in text, p. 77.

Ch'ien Lung. On Donkey painting.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1494.

Chu Chih-ch'ih, seals, Ming dynasty.

Chu Chih-ch'ih, *Chu Wo-an tsang shu-hua mu* (11, p. 2a).

Li Chao-heng, seals, 17th century (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 552).

An Ch'i, seals, early 18th century.

An Ch'i, *Mo-yüan hui-kuan* (67, painting section, hsia /75b).

Ch'ien Lung, seals, 1766.

Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-11.

Famous Chinese Painting and Calligraphy (7, pls. 103 and 104), Frog and Donkey.

Chung-hua wên-wu chi-ch'eng (14, vol. 4, pl. 384, cat; pl. 385, donkey; vol. 3, pl. 279, inscription).

Lippe (57, p. 17).

Remarks:

Information has been gathered from rather scattered sources, and it is not sure that it all relates to the same album. For example, *Chung-hua wên-wu chi-ch'eng* records paintings being on silk, with the inscription (which gives every appearance of belonging) on paper. An I-chou's catalogue tells of 16 leaves on paper. Chu Chih-ch'ih mentions only 9.

Mr. Lippe has kindly furnished me with a complete list of the subjects. They are as follows: magnolia, donkey, cat, lotus and frog, dove, duck, cockscomb, shrimp and crab, orchis, flowers, clams, large crab, grapes, chrysanthemum, chicken, butterfly, and lily.

XXXVIII. *Farewell to a Friend* (opening passage) (pl. 34, A).

Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art.

No date.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1', L. 3'1¼".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Not translated.

Wang Tsung-hsi.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Other seals not identified.

P'ang Yüan-chi, seals.

P'ang Yüan-chi, *Hsü-chai* (38, 3/13, Shen Chou 7).

Chinese Paintings (60, No. 30, p. 22). Two details reproduced.

XXXIX. *Lake T'ai* (closing passage) (pl. 34, B).

Japan, formerly Soyejima Collection.

No date.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, (color?). H. 1'5", L. 5'2.6" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou signature.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Several seals unreadable or unidentified.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seals, 1525-1590.

Liang Ch'ing-piao, seals, 1620-1691 (see footnote 145).

Omura, *Bunjin gasen* (3, I, 3).

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 17).

- XL. *Listening to the Cicadas* (pl. 35).
Tōkyō, Piacentini Collection.
No date.
Hanging scroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1'9.2", W. 1'4" (Japanese measurements).
Inscriptions:
Shen Chou. Translated in text above, p. 58.
Ch'ien Lung.
Bibliography and seals:
Shen Chou, seal.
Ch'ien Lung, seals, 1753.
Tōsō (small) (120, 244).
Harada (71, p. 145).
Formerly Yamamoto Collection, Tōkyō.
- XLI. *Crab* (K'uo-so t'u) (pl. 50, C).
Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.
No date.
Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 1'5.3", W. 9.6" (Chinese measurements).
Inscriptions:
Shen Chou. Not translated.
Ch'ien Lung.
Bibliography and seals:
Shen Chou, seal.
Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.
Shih-ch'ü pao-chi (89, 1744, Chung Hua Kung /8).
Chia Ch'ing, seal, 1796-1821.
Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-11.
Ku-kung (45, No. 22).
Ku-kung chou-k'an (46, 180, p. 189).
Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).
- XLII. *Autumn Landscape of T'ung-kuan* (pl. 40, A).
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Dated 1499 (first month).
Handscroll. Paper, ink. H. 12¾", L. 46". (Mounted with a Yüan painting, *Scenery of I-hsing* by Chou Chih, dated 1358.)
Inscriptions:
Shen Chou.
The inscription tells us that this was painted by Shen Chou to return the gift of a Yüan painting by Chou Chih of the *Scenery of I-hsing*, a scroll which Shen Chou had admired so much that its owner, who here is called Yüan-ling, had presented it to him. (A later colophon tells us that Shen Chou subsequently returned the painting.)
Wang Feng.
Wang Shih-chen.
Mo Shih-lung.
Bibliography and seals:
Lü Hsiu-tsai, seal (Chou Chih painting), 14th century.
Sang Yüeh (Chou Chih painting), 15th century.
Huang Yüan-ling, seal (Chou Chih painting), 15th century.
Huang Yün, seal (Chou Chih painting), 1498.
Shen Chou, seal, 1499.
Wen Cheng-ming, seal, 1500.
Wen Chia, seal, 16th century.

Wang Feng, seal, 16th century.
 Ch'eng Wei-ching, seal, 16th century.
 Wang Shih-chen, seals, 1526-1590.
 Wang Shih-chen, *Yen-chou* (137, supplement, 169/5), 1577.
 T'an Ssü-chung, seal, 16th century.
 Keng Chao-chung, seals, 1640-1686.
Shih-ku t'ang (90, 2/114).
P'ei-wen-chai (74, 93/31).
 Ch'ien Lung, seals, 1736-1796.
Shih-ch'ü (89, section 2), 18th century.
 Chia Ch'ing, seal, 1796-1821.
 Hsüan T'ung, seal, 1908-1911.
 T'an Ching, 20th century.
 Chang Yüan (Ta-ch'ien), 20th century.
 Tseng, *Loan Exhibition* (122, No. 11).

XLIII. *Chang Kung's Stalactite Grotto* (pl. 36).

Scarsdale, N. Y., H. C. Weng Collection.

Dated 1499 (third month).

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1'5½", L. 9'4".

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Not translated. Some of meaning discussed in text, p. 60.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1499.

Shih-wen chi (93, 4/8b), poem and explanation.

Liu Shu (Jung-feng).

Unidentified seals.

Weng T'ung-ho collection, late 19th-early 20th century.

Dallas (22a).

Remarks:

A very slightly different version of this same scroll has been reproduced in *Shen Shih-t'ien Chang-kung tung chüan* (86a).

XLIV. *Four Stages of the Prunus* (style of Yang Pu-chih) (pl. 48).

Collection unknown.

No date.¹⁴⁸

Handscroll.

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

Wu K'uan.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang.

Bibliography and seals:

Seals presumably following inscriptions as listed above:

Shen Chou.

Wu K'uan, 15th century.

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636).

Yün-hsiang (I-ch'in Wang) Prince I (1686-1730), seals, Hummel (40, p. 923).

Ferguson, *Chinese Painting* (28, p. 153-154).

Remarks:

The University of Michigan has a photographic reproduction of the album. The

¹⁴⁸ Ferguson, however, calls it "early" and he may be relying on information, such as a dated inscription, not shown or discussed. But, lacking other criteria, it is stylistically too close to XLV to be placed elsewhere at present. Shen Chou uses a seal, Pai-shih-weng, which is usually a sign of a late work.

photographs were originally presented to Benjamin March by John Ferguson. This shows that there is excellent Shen Chou calligraphy as well, but still no date. There is also calligraphy by Ch'en Chi-ju (1558-1639) and a final brief notation by Lu Tsu-hsiu in 1687.

XLV. *Hai-t'ang Branch* (Cherry Apple) (pl. 47, A).

Sumiyoshi, Saitō Collection.

Dated 1500 (spring).

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 2'8.9", W. 9.5" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Translated in text, p. 77.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1500.

Unidentified seal.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 18).

Tōanzō (116, pl. 20).

XLVI. *River in Autumn* (pl. 40, B).

Stockholm, National Museum.

Dated 1500 (autumn).

Handscroll. Paper, ink. H. 1'1 $\frac{3}{16}$ ", L. 4'6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou—

Painted in 1500, the tenth month.

Shen Chou.

Ch'en Shun.¹⁴⁹ Translated by Sirén. *Exhibition of Chinese Paintings* (102, p. 35).

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1500.

Ch'en Shun, 1544. Seals possibly follow inscription.

Other seals undeciphered.

An Exhibition (102, No. 46, pp. 34-35).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 59).

Remarks:

This painting, at the present "preliminary" stage of our knowledge of Shen Chou, does not always appear entirely convincing. For example, the way of painting figures and architecture does not seem typical. But as noted in the text, there is so much that does tell of Shen Chou that even if it should later be discarded from the actual brush of the master, it certainly is a close follower of Shen Chou's viewpoint at this date.

XLVII. *Crab* (pl. 50, D).

China, formerly T'ung Family Collection.

Dated 1501.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", W. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

1501, in the autumn, the old man Shih-t'ien, playing with ink in the Yu-chu chuang.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1501.

Shen-chou kuo-kuang chi (86, 4).

¹⁴⁹ Ch'en Shun, 1483-1544, Fu-fu, Pai-yang, Tao-fu, poet, writer, painter of landscapes and birds and flowers. Like Shen Chou he came from Suchou. He was a pupil of Wen Cheng-ming. The records list two series of dates for his life. One of these lists him as dying in 1539, which if this inscription and date are to be trusted, is most certainly incorrect. (Contag and Wang, 21, p. 327.)

XLVIII. *Chrysanthemum in a Vase* (pl. 49, C).

Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection.

Dated 1502.

Album leaf.¹⁵⁰ Paper, ink. H. 1'1", W. 6.8" (Chinese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

1502. In the clear autumn, while boiling tea, I looked at the chrysanthemums in the mountain home of the monk, Tzū-k'ō, and for amusement I did this picture.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1502.

Wang Ao, seal.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seal, 1525-1590.

Ch'ien Lung, seal, ruled 1736-1795.

Ku-kung shu-hua chi (47, 33).Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).*Art in East and West* (76, p. 138).XLIX. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan* (pl. 41, B).

Sumiyoshi, Saitō Collection.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 1'6.9", W. 9.9" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

The trees are scattered like a belt around the hill;
The autumn sun is setting, and the kiosk is empty.
My thoughts reach out to old Ni Yü,
But he is far away like the white clouds in the sky.
Shen Chou.

(Translated by Sirén.)

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Two seals unidentified.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 7).*Tōanzō* (116, pl. 19).Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 50). Caption incorrectly states that painting is dated 1475.L. *Rockery and Bamboo*.

Takei Collection, Tokyo.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 2'2.7", W. 1'1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

Shen Chou of Suchou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 6).*Monumenta serica* (26, following p. 572, pl. xxx).LI. *Landscape in the Style of Wu Chen* (pl. 37, A).

China, Chang Hsüeh-liang Collection.

No date.

¹⁵⁰ The album is one which assembles paintings from various periods by different artists. The collection is called *Chi ku-fu hui* and catalogued in the Museum as *ch'eng* 171/2.

Leaf from an album. Paper, ink, light color. H. 1'5", W. 1' 9.7" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions:

None.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Unidentified seal.

Sōgen (small) (106, 96).

Remarks:

The author has recently found that this landscape is part of a large album reproduced in facsimile in Japan (publisher and date not given) containing 22 separate leaves. A colophon accompanying them indicates they cannot have been done later than 1482. See text, p. 62, where the colophon is translated.

LII. *Mountain Landscape in the Style of Wu Chen* (pl. 38, A).

Japan, formerly Ariyoshi Collection.

No date (before 1505).

Hanging scroll. Materials not published. H. 6'5", W. 2'3.1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou.

Wu K'uan.

Ch'ien Fu.

Yang Chün-ch'ien. (See footnote 146.)

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Wu K'uan, seal.

Ch'ien Fu, seals.

Yang Chün-ch'ien, seals, 1505.

Sōgen (small) (106, 99).

Remarks:

The relationship with Wu Chen is not declared by the artist, but maintained in Yang Chün-ch'ien's colophon of 1505. Since he was a close friend of Shen Chou, there seems no reason to doubt this. For another colophon associated with Yang Chün-ch'ien see Shen Chou's poem and explanation after the Freer scroll of 1491 (Cat. XXXIV).

LIII. *Autumn Landscape for Yang I-ch'ing* (pls. 38, B, 39).

Japan, Nakamura Collection.

No date (after 1502).

Hanging scroll. Silk, ink, colors added. H. 5'8.7", W. 2'9.5" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou. Poem not translated. For explanation see text, p. 64.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Shih-t'ien chi (91, *ch'i yen ku*/11b). Poem only.

Bijutsu kenkyū (82, pp. 151-152).

Remarks:

The painting has other seals not decipherable in reproduction. Painted for Yang I-ch'ing, the artist addresses him with an official title which the statesman obtained only in 1502, thus giving us an approximation of the date.

LIV. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan* (pl. 41, A).

Tōkyō, formerly Yamamoto Collection.

Dated 1504.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink. H. 5'½", W. 1'½" (Japanese measurements).

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Poem not translated.

In Shen Chou's hand, poems by his old friends: Ch'en Meng, Ch'en Ch'i, Ch'ien Ch'ang.

In 1475, inquiring after Shou-cho-mi-weng (Hsieh Fu) I painted a small landscape and added a poem to present to him. After he died it was lost. His grandson, Chin, is able to recall a series of parallel-rhyming poems which several of us once wrote and so, to a painting I have done, I have added them to perpetuate the memory of his forebear's goodness. Meng is Yün-te. Ch'i is Yung-chih. Ch'ang is Yün-yen. All my old friends. Now all have passed on. To write this for them is almost more than I can bear.

1504. Shen Chou now adds this second colophon. He is 78 years old.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals, 1504.

Kokka 465 (83).

Tōsō (small) (120, 247).

Pageant (32, pl. 500).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 77). Apparently this is the painting referred to here as done in 1475.

Harada (71, p. 145).

LV. *Clouds over the River before Rain* (pls. 42, 43).¹⁵¹

Sumiyoshi, Saitō Collection.

Dated 1504.

Handscroll. Paper, ink, colors added. H. 1'1.7", L. 26'7" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

Painting of Clouds over the River before Rain. 1504, the fourth day of mid-summer (i.e., fifth month).

Painting by Shen Chou of Suchou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal, 1504.

Shen family, seal, ca. 1504, with name, Yu-chu chuang. (See footnote 119.)

Ch'ien Lung, seals, ruled 1736-1795.

Shih-ch'ü pao-chi (89). Manuscript section 3 in the Yen-ch'un ko. See Ferguson,

Li-tai chu-lu hua mu (53, p. 156).

Chia Ch'ing, seals, 1796-1821.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pls. 14-16).

Tōanzō (116, pl. 17, 1-10).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 60).

LVI. *Flowers and Fruits: Five Album Leaves*.

1. *Chrysanthemum*.

Sumiyoshi, Saitō Collection.

No date.

Album leaf. Paper, ink, colors. H. 1'1.4", W. 1'5.1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seal, 1525-1590. Only part visible; cf. Contag and Wang (21, p. 611, No. 61).

Unidentified seal.

¹⁵¹ The painting has most recently (1961) been acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 27).

Tōanzō (116, pl. 21).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).

2. *Persimmons.*

Sumiyoshi, Saitō Collection.

No date.

Album leaf. Paper, ink, color. H. 1'1.4", W. 1'5.1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

The frost has touched these full-ripe fruits, they are shining red in the sun. They have often been praised in poems, and their taste is indeed unequalled.

(Translated by Sirén.)

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seals, 1525-1590.

Unidentified seals. One of these belongs to same collector as unidentified seal in 1.—A Chao family.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 26).

Tōanzō (116, pl. 22).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 62b).

3. *Camellia.*

Ōsaka, Goro Harada Collection.

No date.

Album leaf. Paper, ink, colors. H. 1'3", W. 1'3.3".

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seal, 1525-1590.

Chao family (?) seal.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 28).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).

4. *Arbutus* (China Strawberry).

Collection?

No date.

Paper, ink, (color?). H. 1'1.2", W. 1'4.9".

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seals, 1525-1590.

Unidentified seal. Chao?

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 24).

Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).

5. *Narcissus.*

Nagao Collection.

No date.

Album leaf. Paper, ink, color. H. 1'1.4", W. 1'5.1" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seals.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, seal, 1525-1590.

Unidentified seal.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 29).Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, p. 85).LVII. *Silk Worms and Mulberry Leaves.*

Osaka, Goro Harada Collection.

No date.

Album leaf. Paper, ink, (color?). H. 1'5", W. 1'3.5" (Japanese measurements).

Inscription:

Shen Chou.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Min shitaika gafu (65, pl. 23).Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 62a).

Remarks:

There is no necessary connection between this leaf and the series described as *Flowers and Fruits: Five Album Leaves*. The seal is different. The poem is written in seven-character lines rather than five-character lines. As far as the reproduction goes, there are no seals of Hsiang Yüan-pien or any other collector.

LVIII. *Two Young Crows* (pl. 50, A).

Stockholm, National Museum.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Paper, ink.

Inscription:

Shen Chou—

There are trees at the dwellings of men where the common birds perch. In the high trees which stand at my home the young crows come to perch. The night is quiet, the moon is bright, the midnight hour has struck. I hear the mother bird calling to her young.

(Translated by Sirén.)

Bibliography and seals:

Sirén, *An Exhibition* (102, No. 44, p. 34).Sirén, *H of LCP* (104, pl. 61).LIX. *Young Bulbuls on a Winter Branch* (pl. 50, B).

Shanghai, Wu Hu-fan Collection.

No date.

Hanging scroll. Materials not published. H. 4'4", W. 1'2".

Inscriptions:

Shen Chou. Not translated.

Wu Hu-fan. Calligraphy on mounting.

Bibliography and seals:

Shen Chou, seal.

Wu Hu-fan, seal, 1936.

Famous Chinese Painting and Calligraphy (7, pl. 104).

ADDENDA

Paintings mentioned in footnotes or under "Remarks":

Long Rain in the Empty Woods. 1475. Published by Yen-kuang shih, Peking (date?). Catalogue, XI, Remarks.

Four Album Leaves, R. B. Hobart Collection, Cambridge. Note 74.

Two River Scrolls, Japan: Ōgawa Collection; Kaiwai Collection. Catalogue, XXVII, Remarks.

Three Junipers, Shanghai Museum. *Gems* (38, II, 10). Catalogue, XVIII, Remarks.

Junipers, Japan: Kawai Collection. Catalogue, XVIII, Remarks.

Farewell at Tiger Hill, H. C. Weng, Scarsdale, N. Y. Note 59.

Departure of Wu Wei-ch'ien, formerly Chang Ts'ung-yü Collection, Shanghai. Note 59.

Fan Painting (Wu Chen Style), private collection, Japan. Note 59.

Paintings possibly after Wu Chen. Poorly reproduced in *Chūgoku meiga-shū* (13). Many are parts of a 12-leaf album now in Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection, and published as a whole: *Shen Shih-t'ien wo-yu ts'e* (87b). Note 83.

Watching Cranes from the Shade of the T'ung Tree. From an album in imitation of Sung and Yüan masters. Note 47.

Crane Listening to the playing of the Ch'in. From an album, dated 1482, Taichung (Formosa), Palace Museum Collection. Note 47.

Winter Landscape. Published, *Sōgen* (small) (106, 97). Note 68.

Long Landscape Scroll, finished by Wen Chen-ming. H. C. Weng, Scarsdale, N. Y. Note 82.

Colophon:

Following scroll given to Li Ch'eng, Saitō Collection. Note 70.

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Shih-t'ien hsien-sheng chi, a collection of Shen Chou's poetry, was printed in 1615 during the Wan Li period. It has an introduction by Ch'ien Yün-chih 錢允治, who was the editor, while most of the compilation was done by Ch'en Jen-hsi 陳仁錫. It is not divided into *chüan*, but rather arranged according to groupings by poetic form. A modern edition was published by the Sao-yeh shan fang, Shanghai, 1914. Largely because it is convenient and available I have used this printing. It can be checked, however, against Ming editions in both the Harvard-Yenching Library at Cambridge, Mass., and the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Shih-t'ien hsien-sheng shih ch'ao, or as it is called in a modern edition, *Shih-t'ien hsien-sheng shih-wen chi*. The original includes one *chüan* of prose and was compiled in 1644. Incorporated in this are introductions by Wu K'uan 吳寬 (1500), Li Tung-yang 李東陽 (1506), and Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 (1644). The modern edition includes a tenth *chüan* which is a biographical compilation. This is often referred to as the Ch'ü edition, as the woodblock printing was by Ch'ü Shih-ssü 瞿式耜, something of a Shen Chou enthusiast who had a large collection of his paintings. Again for convenience, I have used the modern reprint, although a Ming edition, not including the tenth *chüan*, is available in the Library of Congress.

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ch'i yen lü 七言律; *wu yen p'ai* 五言排
ch'i yen chüeh 七言絕; *wu yen lü* 五言律
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A. NI TSAN. 1362.
Freer Gallery of Art (38.9).

B. *Clear Distance in Wu-hsing* (OPENING SECTION). HSÜ PEN.
J. D. Chen, Hong Kong.

C. *Hsiu-yeh hsien* (THE ELEGANT WILDERNESS BALCONY) (OPENING SECTION). CHU TE-JUN. 1364.
Freer Gallery of Art (50.20).

東坡先生于湖州日遊乃道兩山運風角迴迴雲松名溪上澄輝之夕官奴粉黛風竹一段于壁寫波如
者刻于石宜郡庫亦近之工因摩挲所得不覺佳古常懷此在西湖也孤芳萬里而予來彷彿一葉一
乃以此竹以清其自也如松之不可忘也王士禛云唐宮女夏五月十三日修飾也

A. Bamboo. WU CHEN. 1350.
Freer Gallery of Art (53.85).

B. Ch'ing-pai hsien (THE CLEAR PURE BALCONY).
LIU CHÜEH. 1458.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa).

A.

B.

A, B. WANG MENG.
Freer Gallery of Art (39.59).

A. SHEN CHEN-CHI. 1471.
Collection unknown.

B. TU TUNG-YUAN. 1463.
Formerly P'ang Yüan-ch'i, Shanghai.

月移小影無邊船
船載三川月正芳
山安元月好嬌一
注新山月進
無船

月移小影無邊船
船載三川月正芳
山安元月好嬌一
注新山月進
無船

A. Fishermen (DETAIL). WU CHEN.
Freer Gallery of Art (37.12).

空能口帝封
雲立散當年五
有金圖中見
兒塔詩書画

山光凝暮雲
忽吹散情閑在山
人何如出山見
史鑑

東坡先生
詩集卷之三
西湖夢憶
西湖夢憶
西湖夢憶

東坡先生
詩集卷之三
西湖夢憶
西湖夢憶
西湖夢憶

B. Mountain Scene. LIU CHÜEN. 1471.
C. C. Wang, New York.

B. CHU TE-JUN. 1364. (ENLARGED
DETAIL, *Hsiu-yeh-hsien*.)
Freer Gallery of Art (50.20).

C. DETAIL OF A.

A. *Retreat*. SHEN CHOU. 1464.
Abe Collection, Ōsaka. (Cat. I.)

A. *Gathering Waterchestnuts*. SHEN CHOU. 1466.
Ueno Collection, Kyôto Museum. (Cat. II.)

B. *Landscape for Liu Chüeh*. SHEN CHOU.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa). (Cat. VIII.)

C. *Return from Stone Lake (STYLE OF NI TSAN)*. SHEN CHOU. 1466.
Art Institute of Chicago. (Cat. III.)

A. *Fu-ch'un Mountains* (DETAIL). HUANG KUNG-WANG.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa).

B. *The Mountains of Ling-yin* (DETAIL). SHEN CHOU. 1471.
Formerly Liu Collection, China. (Cat. IX.)

A. *Towering Mount Lu*. SHEN CHOU. 1467.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa). (Cat. IV.)

青蒲古石畫法精采，如生竅，
通細睇玲瓏，潘潔素宋宮碑板
一般同

B. *A Cloud Stone from Mount Sung* (DETAIL).
WANG MENG.
Hsiao Fang-chün Collection.

C. DETAIL OF 10, B.

A. WANG YÜAN. 1347.
C. T. Loo (Frank Caro), New York.

B. *Flowers and Birds* (STYLE OF WANG YÜAN). SHEN CHOU. 1468.
J. P. Dubosc, Lugano, Switzerland. (Cat. V.)

C. *Towering Mountains above a Retreat*. SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1470.
Central Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa). (Cat. VI.)

A. *The Scholar in His Rustic Shelter* (DETAIL). ALBUM LEAF
(STYLE OF CHAO MENG-FU). SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara. (Cat. VII, 1.)

B. *Fields and Village*. ALBUM LEAF (STYLE OF CHAO PO-CHÜ. SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara, (Cat. VII, 4.)

C. *Wandering in the Mountains*. ALBUM LEAF (STYLE OF HUI CH'UNG). SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara, (Cat. VII, 5.)

A. *The Traveller*. ALBUM LEAF (STYLE OF WANG FU). SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara. (Cat. VII, 6.)

B. *Boat Crossing*. ALBUM LEAF (STYLE OF CHAO YUNG). SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara. (Cat. VII, 7.)

A. *Summer Mist along the Lake Shore*. CHAO TA-NIEN. 1100.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

B. *Gathering Waterchestnuts*. ALBUM LEAF (STYLE OF CHAO TA-NIEN). SHEN CHOU. BEFORE 1471.
Hayashi Collection, Hara. (Cat. VII, 9.)

A. *Watching the Mid-Autumn Moon*. SHEN CHOU.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Cat. XXIII.)

載鶴鳴琴湖
上歸白雲紅葉
互交飛倦家
正深山處竹
裡書聲中榻
廡
沈氏

B. *Scholar and Crane Returning Home*. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXIV, 3.)

C. ALBUM, LEAF (DETAIL). WEN CHENG-MING.
Saitō Collection, Sumiyoshi.

A.

B.

C.

A, B, C. *River Village and the Joy of Fishing.* SHEN CHOU.
 Freer Gallery of Art (39.2). (Cat. XXVII.)

A. DETAIL OF 15, A.

B. *Fishermen* (DETAIL). TAI CHIN.
Freer Gallery of Art (30.80).

C. *Fishermen*
(DETAIL). TAI CHIN.
Freer Gallery of Art
(30.80).

D. *Fishermen*
(DETAIL). WU CHEN.
Freer Gallery of Art
(37.12).

A. *Gardeners*. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXIV, 1.)

B. *Rain at Wang-ch'uan*. SHEN CHOU.
Collection unknown. (Cat. XXV.)

A. *Poet on a Mountain Top*. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXIV, 2.)

B. *Return from a Thousand Li*. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXIV, 4.)

碧樹沉綠
未齊釣舟閒
倚雲川西行
人岸上空回
省各有車輪
與馬蹄
沈周

A. *Mountain Travellers*. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXIV, 5.)

B. *Plum Blossoms at Chu-t'ang Temple*. SHEN CHOU. 1475.
Suchou Library, Kiangsu. (Cat. XI.)

A. Ma-an shan (SADDLE MOUNTAIN).
FROM ALBUM, *Famous Views of
Two Rivers*. SHEN CHOU.
P'an Po-shan Collection, China. (Cat. XXVIII.)

B. T'ien-p'ing Mountain and Temple of
Fan Chung-yen. FROM ALBUM, *Famous
Views of Two Rivers*. SHEN CHOU.
P'an Po-shan Collection, China. (Cat. XXVIII.)

范公手種千歲物宜爾子孫加
意培耆落葉與世換得好春
從地來願同季札保嘉樹因
讀周書知美材為君去筆
寫其象白日風雨驚萬葉
長洲沈周

C. Catalpa Trees. SHEN CHOU.
Eli Lilly Collection (John Herron Art Museum, Indianapolis).
(Cat. XXVI.)

橫塘

Heng-t'ang. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU, 1488.
Formerly Hashimoto Collection, Tōkyō. (Cat. XXX.)

Suchou. ALBUM LEAF. SHEN CHOU. 1488.
Formerly Hashimoto Collection, Tōkyō. (Cat. XXX.)

A. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan*. SHEN CHOU. 1484.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XX.)

B. *IMITATION OF NI TSAN LANDSCAPE FORMULA*. WANG FU. 1401.
Formerly Yamamoto Collection, Tōkyō.

Ts'e-chang t'u (THE STAFF-BEARING WANDERER). SHEN CHOU.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa). (Cat. XXII.)

A. DETAIL OF 23, A.

B. ALBUM, LEAF NO. 4 (STYLE OF NI TSAN). SHEN CHOU.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Cat. XIII.)

A. ALBUM, LEAF NO. 5. SHEN CHOU.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Cat. XIII.)

B. *Landscape Panorama* (DETAIL). SHEN CHOU. 1477.
Portland Art Museum. (Cat. XII.)

A. *Winter Landscape*. SHEN CHOU.
National Museum, Stockholm. (Cat. XV.)

B. *Hsieh An on East Mountain*. SHEN CHOU.
H. C. Weng, New York. (Cat. XVI.)

Floating in a Boat among Fragrant Lotuses. SHEN CHOU.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung (Formosa). (Cat. XVII.)

A.

B.

A, B. *Scroll Presented to Wu K'uan (SECTIONS)*. SHEN CHOU. 1479.
Gengi Kadogawa, Tōkyō. (Cat. XIV.)

A.

B.

A, B. *Scroll Presented to Wu K'uan (SECTIONS)*. SHEN CHOU. 1479.
Gengi Kadogawa, Tokyo. (Cat. XIV.)

A.

披髮以清
談雲問雲
情也吾
終以
者
何按
辛亥
三月
於龍宮
山莊陽春

山園溪
繞野壘
間簪蓋
良朋喧
待問欲
問園中
高為素
盤山夫
宜墨寒
山
壬寅春
素於宮
山莊見
沈學

賦舟應左慶祐
志哉聖朝政教
仙遊寺乃石今日
設詩詞知向那
筆鐫不獨延真
足供版有契宗
情手編成以
他周遠去家民
惟覺意中亞
乙酉仲夏沈於
寒山別墅即用
王叔

沈周
時華先生

B.

A, B. *Spring Landscape*. SHEN CHOU.
Attached colophon, 1491.
Freer Gallery of Art (34.1). (Cat. XXXIV.)

A. *Collating the Texts* (DETAIL). SUNG DYNASTY.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

B.

C.

D.

A. *Landscape in the Style of Wang Meng*. SHEN CHOU. 1491.
Freer Gallery of Art (56.28). (Cat. XXXV.)

B. *Night Vigil*.
SHEN CHOU. 1492.
Palace Museum Collection,
Taichung (Formosa).
(Cat. XXXVI.)

A. *Farewell to a Friend* (OPENING PASSAGE). SHEN CHOU.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City. (Cat. XXXVIII.)

B. *Lake T'ai* (CLOSING PASSAGE). SHEN CHOU.
Formerly Soyejima Collection, Japan. (Cat. XXXIX.)

蛩聲寂喜玉琴然
閑戶疎簾月樣圓
款槐北牕真傲世
客身何足訝貂蟬
乾隆癸酉秋仲辰題
即用石田韻

晚風吹夢書茫然
日影亭、碧樹圓容
有叩門聲不應自
支高枕聽新蟬
沈周

Listening to the Cicadas. SHEN CHOU.
Piacentini Collection, Tōkyō. (Cat. XL.)

A.

B.

A, B. *Chang Kung's Stalactite Grotto*. SHEN CHOU. 1499.
H. C. Weng, New York. (Cat. XLIII.)

A. *Landscape in the Style of Wu Chen*. SHEN CHOU. 1482.
Chang Hsüeh-liang Collection, China. (Cat. LI.)

B. ALBUM, LEAF. WU CHEN.
Saitō Collection, Sumiyoshi.

A. *Mountain Landscape in the Style of Wu Chen.*
SHEN CHOU.
Formerly Ariyoshi Collection, Japan. (Cat. LII.)

B. *Autumn Landscape for Yang I-ch'ing, SHEN CHOU.*
Nakamura Collection, Hyogo Prefecture. (Cat. LIII.)

DETAIL OF 38, B.

A. *Autumn Landscape of T'ung-kuan*. SHEN CHOU. 1499.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (Cat. XLII.)

B. *River in Autumn*. SHEN CHOU. 1500.
National Museum, Stockholm. (Cat. XLVI.)

沈周

A. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan.*
SHEN CHOU. 1504.
Formerly Yamamoto Collection, Tōkyō.
(Cat. LIV.)

A. *Landscape in the Style of Ni Tsan.*
SHEN CHOU. 1504.
Formerly Yamamoto Collection, Tōkyō.
(Cat. LIV.)

A.

B.

C.

D.

A, B, C, D. *Clouds over the River before Rain* (SECTIONS). SHEN CHOU. 1504.
Saitō Collection, Sumiyoshi. (Cat. LV.)

A.

B.

C.

D.

A, B, C, D. *Clouds over the River before Rain* (SECTIONS). SHEN CHOU. 1504.
Saitō Collection, Sumiyoshi. (Cat. LV.)

A. *Rose Mallow and Rock*.
SHEN CHOU. 1475.
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art,
Kansas City. (Cat. X.)

B. *Peach Blossoms and Young Geese*. SHEN CHOU. 1484.
Ting Teng-ju Collection. (Cat. XIX.)

A. *Maple Leaves Falling into the River Wu*. SHEN CHOU.
Formerly Yamamoto Collection, Tōkyō.
(Cat. XVIII.)

B. *Rose Mallow and Pine*. SHEN CHOU. 1489.
H. C. Weng, New York. (Cat. XXXI.)

A. *Pomegranate and Melon Vine* (SSŪ-KUA) (DETAIL). SHEN CHOU.
Detroit Institute of Arts. (Cat. XXXII.)

B. *Banana in Snow* (DETAIL). SHEN CHOU.
Honolulu Academy of Arts. (Cat. XXXIII.)

積華竹溪野人家碑其略之見依妙記取月明清不寐
風爐瀾茗對珠花
薛華之應教贈空

緣冬風雪宿君家燭影橫
正德王已亥冬朔後言
與且素淨出休和之唐書

粧合胭脂作曉粧富於顏色
若於香東風不骨全付相對
梅花各斷腸

弘治庚申春日在雙紙
僧舍見海棠感興通值
陸汝器在坐索圖此繪以
寄

長洲沈周

A. *Hai-t'ang Branch*. SHEN CHOU. 1500.
Saitō Collection, Sumiyoshi. (Cat. XLV.)

B. *Broken Branch*. T'ANG YIN.
Abe Collection, Ōsaka. 1509.

A.

B.

C.

D.

A, B, C, D. *Four Stages of the Prunus*. SHEN CHOU.
Collection unknown. (Cat. XLIV.)

吁嗟不曉不見六
鍾之中間士儒者
之書題面學鳴顏
為已甚望知名教
之非非愛旅食京
華深揚風雪斯
則詩人所以愛諸
矣哉石而漢聖間
拂而長耳四蹄
取神早肯生餘
是忘登也是契究
也定預承刻諸者
之分誌
丙戌仲夏上時
依魁

A. Donkey.
ALBUM LEAF.
SHEN CHOU. 1494.
Palace Museum
Collection, Taichung
(Formosa).
(Cat. XXXVII.)

升中興
子歸雅
同淡白庭
知勝艷紅
水鏡常
前羅海
色祇饒香
氣噴芳
綠

B. Frog on Lotus.
ALBUM LEAF.
SHEN CHOU. 1494.
Palace Museum
Collection, Taichung
(Formosa).
(Cat. XXXVII.)

弘治壬戌清秋淪若觀於
自序上之

C. Chrysanthemum in a Vase.
SHEN CHOU. 1502.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung
(Formosa). (Cat. XLVIII.)

A. *Two Young Crows*. SHEN CHOU.
National Museum, Stockholm. (Cat. LVIII.)

B. *Young Bulbuls on a Winter Branch*.
SHEN CHOU.
Wu Hu-fan, Shanghai.
(Cat. LIX.)

C. *Crab*. SHEN CHOU.
Palace Museum Collection, Taichung
(Formosa). (Cat. XLI.)

D. *Crab*. SHEN CHOU. 1501.
Formerly T'ung Family Collection, China.
(Cat. XLVII.)

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